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The Murder of Rizzio.

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The Holyrood Series.

1.

The Murder of Rizzio;

[Being Lord Ruthven's own Account of the transaction.]

II.

After Culloden,

or the
Escape of the Young Chevalier.

1746.

EDINBURGH:
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1891.

[*It having been pointed out to the Publishers by one of the best authorities on the subject, that the "Genuine Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots," which they had intended should be the second work included in this volume, were forgeries of a later date,* AFTER CULLODEN *has been substituted.*]

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THE MURDER
OF
RIZZIO.

The author of this relation, Lord Ruthven, at the age of forty-six, was visited by the hand of God with great trouble and sickness, whereby he kept his bed continually by the space of three months, and was under the cure of physicians, as of the Queen's French doctor, Dr. Preston, and Thomas Thompson, apothecary; and was so feebled and weakened through the sickness and medicines, that scarcely he might walk twice the length of his chamber unsitting down. During this time the King conceived hatred against an Italian called David Riccio: and about the 10th

day of February, sent his dear friend and kinsman, GEORGE DOUGLAS, son to ARCHIBALD, sometime Earl of ANGUS and declared to Lord RUTHVEN, how that the said DAVID RICCIO, had abused him in many sorts, and lately had stayed the Queen's Majesty from giving him the crown matrimonial of Scotland, which her Majesty had promised to him divers times before: besides many other wrongs that DAVID had done to him, which he could not bear with longer, and behoved to be revenged thereof. And because the Lord RUTHVEN was one of the nobility that he confided and trusted most unto, in respect that his children and he were sisters' children; therefore he desired his counsel and advice what way was best to be revenged on DAVID. The Lord RUTHVEN hearing the message aforesaid, gave answer to GEORGE DOUGLAS, that he could give no counsel in that matter, in respect he knew the King's youth and facility; for he had sundry of the nobility

that had given him counsel for his own honour and weal, and immediately be revealed the same again to the Queen's Majesty, who reproved them with great anger and contumelious words; so that he would have no meddling with the King's proceedings until the time he could keep his own counsel. The said GEORGE departed with the answer about 12th of February. The King, hearing the answer, was very miscontented and said, it is a sore case that I can get none of the nobility that will assist me against yonder false villain DAVIE. GEORGE DOUGLAS answered, the fault was in yourself, that cannot keep your own counsel. Then the King took a book and swore thereon, that what counsel soever the Lord RUTHVEN should give him, he would not reveal, neither to the Queen's Majesty, nor to any others; and immediately directed GEORGE to him again, declaring what oath the King hath made. Notwithstanding the Lord RUTHVEN was eight days

after ere he would give any counsel therein; howbeit, the King sent GEORGE DOUGLAS to him every day three or four times. After eight days were past, which was toward the 20th day of February, the Lord RUTHVEN perceiving that the King's whole intent was but only the slaughter of DAVIE, resolved in his mind, and considered that he had a good time to labour for certain of the nobility, his brethren that were banished in the realm of England and in Argyle; and specially the Earls of ARGILE, MURRAY, GLENCARN, and ROTHES; the Lords BOYD and OCHELTRIE, and the Lairds of PITTARRO and GRANGE, with many other gentlemen and barons. Wherefore so soon as the said GEORGE was directed again from the King to him, he answered, that he could not meddle with the King's affairs, without that he would bring home the noblemen before rehearsed, who were banished only for the Word of God. And after long reasoning, and divers days

travelling, the King was contented they should come home into the realm of Scotland; so that the Lord RUTHVEN would make him sure that they would be his, and set forward all his affairs. He gave answer to the King, and bad him make his own security, and that he should cause it to be subscribed by the aforesaid Earls, Lords, and Barons. Immediately thereafter the King directed GEORGE DOUGLAS to Lord RUTHVEN with certain articles, which he desired him to put in form of writing, to be subscribed by the Lords banished; the which he caused to be put in form. And having consideration that the King desired them to be bound to him, he caused to be drawn certain articles in the said Lords names for the King's part towards them; which the King himself reformed with his own hand.

The articles being penned for both parties, and the King reading and considering the same, he was contented there-

with, and subscribed his part, and delivered it to the Lord RUTHVEN, who sent the other articles to the Earl of MURRAY, and the remanent being within England; and to the Earl of ARGILE, and the remanent being with him in the west, who subscribed the same, and sent them to Lord RUTHVEN to be kept till their meeting with the King, and every one to have their own part; the tenour whereof followeth

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Certain Articles to be fulfilled by James, Earl of Murray; Archibald, Earl of Argile; Alexander, Earl of Glencarne; Andrew, Earl of Rothes; Robert, Lord Boyd; Andrew, Lord Ochiltree; and their Complices, to the Noble and Mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady: which Articles the said Persons offer with most humility, lowliness, and service to the said Noble Prince, for whom to God they pray, &c.

Imprimis. The said Earls, Lords, and their complices, shall become, and by the tenour hereof become, true subjects, men and servants, to the noble and mighty Prince HENRY, by the grace of God King of Scotland, and husband to our Sovereign Lady; that they, and all others that will do for them, shall take a loyal and true part with the said noble Prince in all

his actions, causes, and quarrels, against whomsoever, to the uttermost of their powers; and shall be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, and neither spare their lives, lands, goods, nor possessions.

2. *Item*, The said Earls, Lords, and their complices shall, at the first Parliament, and other Parliaments that shall happen to be after their returning within this realm, by themselves and others that have voice in Parliament, consent, and by these presents do consent now as then, and then as now, to grant and give the crown matrimonial to the said noble Prince for all the days of his life. And if any person or persons withstand or gainsay the same, the said Earls, Lords, and their complices shall take such part as the said noble Prince taketh, in whatsoever sort, for the obtaining of the said crown, against all, and whatsoever that let or deny, as shall best please the said noble Prince.

3. *Item*, The said Earls, Lords, and their complices shall fortify and maintain the said noble Prince to his just title to the Crown of Scotland, failing of succession of our Sovereign Lady, and shall justify and set forward the same at their utmost powers. And if any manner of person will usurp or gainsay the just title, then the said Earls, Lords, and their complices shall maintain, defend, and set forwards the same, as best shall please the said noble Prince, without fear of life or death ; and shall seek and pursue them the usurpers, as shall please the said noble Prince to command, to extirp them out of the realm of Scotland, or take or slay them.

4. *Item*, As to the religion which was established by the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign, shortly after her arrival in this realm, whereupon Acts and Proclamation was made, and now again granted by the said noble Prince to the said Earls, Lords, and their complices ; they, and every of

them, shall maintain and fortify the same at their uttermost powers, by the help, supply, and maintenance of the said noble Prince. And if any person or persons will gainsay the same, or any part thereof, or begin to make tumult or uproar for the same, the said Earls, Lords, and their complices to take a full, true, and plain part with the said noble Prince, against the said contemners and usurpers, at their uttermost.

5. *Item*, As they are become true subjects, men and servants, to the said noble Prince, so shall they be loyal and true to his Majesty, as becometh true subjects to their natural Prince; and as true and faithful servants serve their good master with their bodies, lands, goods, and possessions; and shall neither spare life nor death in setting forward all things that may be to the advancement and honour of the said noble Prince.

6. *Item*, The said Earls, Lords, and their complices, shall labour at the Queen

of England's hands for the relief of the said noble Prince, his mother, and brother, by themselves and such others as they may procure, to the uttermost of their power, that they may be relieved out of ward, or remain in England freely, or repair into Scotland, as they shall think most expedient, without stop or impediment to herself, her son, their servants and moveables.

7. *Item*, The said Earls, Lords, and their complices, shall, by themselves and others that will do for them, labour and procure, at the Queen of England's hands, that the said noble Prince may have her kindness, good-will, and assistance in all his Majesty's honourable and just causes, against whatsoever foreign Prince.

Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the Noble and Mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady, of his Majesty's mere clemency and good-will, to James, Earl of Murray; Archibald, Earl of Argile; Alexander, Earl of Glencarne; Andrew, Earl of Rothes; Robert, Lord Boyd; Andrew, Lord Stewart, of Ochel-trie, remaining in England, &c.

Item, First, The said noble Prince shall do his good-will, to obtain them one remission, if they require the same, for all faults and crimes by-past, of whatsoever quality or condition they be. And if that cannot be obtained at the first time, shall persevere in suing of the same until it be obtained; and at the last shall give them a free remission of all crimes so soon as we are placed, by their help and supply to the crown matrimonial: And in the mean time shall stop and make impedi-

ments, so much as lieth in us, that they be not called nor accused for whatsoever crime: And presently remits and forgives the aforesaid Earls, Lords, and their complices, all crimes committed against us of whatsoever quality or condition they be; and do bury and put the same in oblivion, as they had never been: And shall receive them at their returning, thankfully, and with heartiness, as others our true and faithful subjects and servants.

2. *Item*, We shall not suffer, by our good wills, the foresaid Lords and their complices, to be called or accused in parliament, nor suffer any forfeitures to be laid against them, but shall stop the same at our uttermost power: And if any person or persons pretend otherwise, we shall neither consent to the holding the parliament, nor yet shall grant to their forfeiture willingly, but shall stop the same to our uttermost power, as said is.

3. *Item*, That the said Earls, Lords, and their complices, returning within the realm

of Scotland, we shall suffer or permit them to use and enjoy all their lands, tackes, steedings, and benefices, that they or any of them had before their passage into England. And if any manner of persons do make them impediments in the peaceable enjoying of the said lands, steedings, tackes, benefices and possessions, it being made known to us, we shall fortify and maintain them to the uttermost of our powers, to the obtaining of the same.

4. *Item*, As to the said Earls, Lords, and their complices religion, we are contented and consent that they use the same, conform to the Queen's Majesty's act and proclamation made thereupon, shortly after her Highness's return out of France. And if any person or persons pretend to make them impediment thereunto, or to trouble them for using the same religion, we shall take part with the aforesaid Earls, Lords and their complices, at our utmost power. And after their returning upon

their good bearing and service to be done to the said noble Prince, shall, by their advice, consent to the stablishing the religion now professed, and shall concur with them, if any persons do withstand them.

5. *Item*, We shall fortify and maintain the said Earls, Lords, and their complices, as a natural Prince should do to his true and obedient subject; and as one good master should fortify and maintain his true and natural servants against whatsoever, in all their just causes, actions, and quarrels.

All this while the King kept secret from the Queen's Majesty the whole proceedings; and as her Majesty sought by subtil means to learn of him what was in his mind, so crafted he with her to seek out her mind: And in the same time he daily sent to the Lord RUTHVEN, saying that he could not abide DAVIE any longer; and if his slaughter was

not hastened, he would slay him himself, yea, though it were in the Queen's Majesty's own chamber. The Lord RUTHVEN counselled him to the contrary, and thought it not decent that he should put hand on such a mean person: yet always the King could not be content, without the Lord RUTHVEN affixed a day when DAVIE should be slain. The said Lord considering with himself that it was not convenient nor honourable to slay DAVIE, notwithstanding the offences he had made; but rather to take him, and give him judgment by the nobility, the King's Majesty answered, it was cumbersome to tarry in such a cause; but always he could be contented that he were taken and hanged, or dispatched otherwise. In the mean time the King and Queen's Majesties rode to Seaton; the King so burning in his desire towards the slaughter of DAVID, that he sent divers privy writings written in his own hand, and also messages by tongue to GEORGE DOUGLAS,

to be shewed to the Lord RUTHVEN, to have all things in readiness against his repairing to Edinburgh towards the slaughter of DAVID, or otherwise he would put the same in execution with his own hands. In the mean time Lord RUTHVEN was practising with the Earl of MORTON, who was the King's near kinsman, and with the Lord LINDSEY, because his wife was a DOUGLAS, and of consanguinity to the King; and with a great number of barons, gentleman, and freeholders, to assist the King in such affairs as he had to do; and then they should have their religion freely established conformable to Christ's book and to the articles the King had subscribed to the Lords. And after the Kings return out of Seaton, he directed GEORGE DOUGLAS to the Earl of MORTON and Lord RUTHVEN, to see what day should be appointed, with place and time, for the performance of the enterprise against DAVID. The said Earl and Lord sent answer to the King, and declared they

should have a sufficient number ready against Friday or Saturday the 8th or 9th of March, to do what he pleased; and enquired of the King what time he would have it the ratherest performed; for, according to their opinion, they thought it best to take them when DAVID should be in his own chamber in the morning, or in passing through the close: which the King refused simpliciter, and said he could not be well taken in his own chamber, nor no time in the morning, by reason that at night he tarried late with the Queen's Majesty: he lay in the over cabinet, and other whiles in Signor FRANCISCO'S chamber, and sometimes in his own, to which he had sundry back doors and windows that he might escape at, and if so it were, all were lost. Therefore he would have him taken at the time of the supping, sitting with her Majesty at the table, that he might be taken in her own presence; because she had not entertained him, her husband

according to her accustomed manner, nor as she ought of duty. To the which the said Earl and Lords were very loth to grant, and gave many reasons to the contrary, that it was better to have been done out of her presence, not in the same. Notwithstanding no reason might avail, but the King would have him taken in her Majesty's presence, and devised the manner himself, as after followeth: That upon the Saturday, at supper time, the Earl of MORTON, Lord RUTHVEN, and Lord LINDSEY should have ready so many as would be assistants and partakers with the King, in their houses, against he should send them word: and so soon as he sent them word, that the Earl of MORTON should come in, and come up to the Queen's utter chamber, and a company with him; and the Lord RUTHVEN was to come through the King's secret chamber; and that the King would pass up before by a privy passage to the Queen's chamber, and open the door,

through which the Lord RUTHVEN and his company might enter; and that the King himself should be speaking with the Queen's Majesty sitting at supper; the remanent barons and gentlemen to be in the court of the palace for keeping of the gates, and defending of the close in case any of the Lords or officers would endeavour to gainstand the King's enterprise. The Earl of MORTON and Lord RUTHVEN having consideration of the King's desire towards the taking of DAVIE in the Queen's Majesty's chamber, were loth to grant thereto; yet the King would not otherwise, but have it done as he had devised. The Earl and Lords considering he was a young Prince, and having a lusty Princess to lie in his arms afterwards, who might persuade him to deny all that was done for his cause, and to allege that others persuaded him to the same, thought it necessary to have security thereupon: and a bond was made in the King's name to the Earls, Lords, Barons,

freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen, declaring all that was to be done was his own devise, invention, and fact; and bound and obliged himself, his heirs and successors, to them, their heirs and successors, to keep them skathless, and unmolested or troubled for the taking and executing of DAVIE in the Queen's presence or otherwise, like as the bond specified hereafter word by word.

"Be it Kend to all men by these present letters: We, HENRY by the grace of God King of Scotland, and Lieutenant to the Queen's Majesty; for so much we having consideration of the gentle and good nature, with many other good qualities in her Majesty, we have thought pity, and also think it great conscience to us that are her husband, to suffer her to be abused or reduced by certain privy persons, wicked and ungodly, not regarding her Majesty's honour ours, nor the nobility thereof, nor the common-weal of the same, but seeking their own com-

modity and privy gains, especially a stranger Italian called DAVIE: which may be the occasion of her Majesty's destruction, ours, the nobility, and common-weal, without hasty remedy be put thereto, which we are willing to do: and to that effect we have devised to take these privy persons, enemies to her Majesty, us, the nobility, and common-wealth, to punish them according to their demerits; and in case of any difficulty, to cut them off immediately, and to take and slay them wherever it happeneth. And because we cannot accomplish the same without the assistance of others, therefore have we drawn certain of our nobility, Earls, Lords, Barons, freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, and craftsmen, to assist us in our enterprise, which cannot be finished without great hazard. And because it may chance that there be sundry great personages present, who may endeavour to gainstand our enterprise, where-through some of them may be slain, and likewise of ours, where-

through a perpetual feud may be contracted betwixt the one and the other; therefore we bind and oblige us our heirs, and successors, to the said Earls, Lords, Barons, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen, their heirs and successors, that we shall accept the same feud upon us, and fortify and maintain them at the uttermost of our power, and shall be friend to their friends, and enemy to their enemies; and shall neither suffer them nor theirs to be molested nor troubled in their bodies, lands, goods, nor possessions, so far as lieth in us. And if any person would take any of the said Earls, Lords, Barons, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, or craftsmen, for enterprizing and assisting with us for the achieving of our purpose, because it may chance to be done in presence of the Queen's Majesty, or within her Palace of Holyrood House, we, by the word of a Prince, shall accept and take the same on us now as then, and then as now, and shall warrant and keep

harmless the foresaid Earls, Lords, Barons freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, and craftsmen, at our utter power. In witness whereof we have subscribed this with our own hand at Edinburgh, the 1st of March 1565."

Upon Saturday the 9th day of March, as is conform to theKing's ordinance and device, the Earl MORTON, Lords RUTHVEN and LINDSEY, having their men and friends in readiness, abiding for the King's advertisement; the King having supped, and the sooner for that cause, and the Queen's Majesty being in her cabinet within her inner chamber at the supper, the King sent to the said Earl and Lords, and their complices; and desired them to make haste and come into the Palace, for he should have the door of the privy passage open, and should be speaking with the Queen before their coming, conform to his device rehearsed before. Then the Earl of MORTON, Lord RUTHVEN and Lord LINDSEY, with their complices,

passed up to the Queen's utter chamber, and the Lord RUTHVEN passed in through the King's chamber, and up through the privy way to the Queen's chamber, as the King had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the Queen's Majesty sitting at her supper, at the middest of a little table, the Lady ARGILE sitting at one end, and DAVIE at the head of the table with his cap on his head, the King speaking with the Queen's Majesty, and his hand about her waist. The Lord RUTHVEN at his coming in said to the Queen's Majesty, "It would please your Majesty to let yonder man DAVIE come forth of your presence, for he hath been over-long here." Her Majesty answered, "What offence hath he made?" The said Lord replied again, that he had made great offence to her Majesty's honour, the King her husband, the nobility and commonweal of the realm. "And how?" saith she, "It will please your Majesty," said he, "he hath

offended your Majesty's honour, which I dare not be so bold to speak of: As to the King your husband's honour, he hath hindred him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promised him, besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed. And as to the nobility, he hath caused your Majesty to banish a great part, and most chief thereof, and fore-fault them at this present Parliament, that he might be made a lord. And as to your commonweal, he hath been a common destroyer thereof, in so far as he suffered not your Majesty to grant or give anything but that which passed through his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the same: and caused your Majesty to put out the Lord Ross from his whole lands, because he would not give over the lordship of Melvin to the said DAVIE; besides many other inconveniences that he solicited your Majesty to do." Then the Lord RUTHVEN said to the King, "Sir, take the

Queen's Majesty your sovereign and wife to you," who stood all amazed, and wyst not what to do. Then her Majesty rose on her feet and stood before DAVIE he holding her Majesty by the plates of the gown, leaning back over in the window, his whiniard drawn in his hand. ARTHUR ERSKINE and the Abbot of Holyrood-house, the Laird of Creech, master of the household, with the French apothecary, and one of the Grooms of the Chamber, began to lay hands upon the Lord RUTHVEN, none of the King's party being present. Then the said Lord pulled out his whiniard, and freed himself while more came in, and said to them, "Lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled;" and at the incoming of others into the cabinet, the Lord RUTHVEN put up his whiniard. And with the rushing in of men the board fell to the wallwards, with meat and candles being thereon; and the Lady of ARGILE took up one of the candles in her hand: and in the same

instant Lord RUTHVEN took the Queen in his arms, and put her into the King's arms, beseeching her Majesty not to be afraid; for there was no man there that would do her Majesty's body more harm than their own hearts; and assured her Majesty, all that was done was the King's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took DAVIE out of the window; and after that they had him out in the Queen's chamber, the Lord RUTHVEN followed, and bad take him down the privy way to the King's chamber; and the said Lord returned to the cabinet again, believing that DAVIE had been had down to the King's chamber, but the press of the people hurled him forth to the utter chamber, where there was a great number standing, who were so vehemently moved against the said DAVIE, that they would not abide any longer, but slew him at the Queen's far door in the utter chamber. Immediately the Earl of MORTON passed forth of the

Queen's Majesty's utter chamber to the inner court for keeping of the same and the gates, and deputed certain barons to keep DAVID'S chamber till he knew the Queen's Majesty's pleasure and the King's. Shortly after their Majesties sent the Lord LINDSEY and ARTHUR ERSKINE to the said Earl of MORTON, to pass to DAVID'S chamber to fetch a black coffer with writings and cyphers, which the said Earl of MORTON delivered to them, and gave the chamber in keeping to JOHN SEMPLE, son to the Lord SEMPLE, with the whole goods there; gold, silver, and apparel being therein. In this meantime the Queen's Majesty and the King came forth of the cabinet to the Queen's chamber, where her Majesty began to reason with the King, saying, "My Lord, why have you caused to do this wicked deed to me, considering I took you from a base estate, and made you my husband? What offence have I made you, that ye should have done me such shame?" The King

answered and said, "I have good reason for me; for since yon fellow DAVIE fell in credit and familiarity with your Majesty ye regarded me not, neither treated me nor entertained me after your wonted fashion; for every day before dinner, and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber and pass time with me, and this long time ye have not done so; and when I come to your Majesty's chamber ye bear me little company, except DAVIE had been the third marrow; and after supper your Majesty hath a use to set at the cards with the said DAVIE, till one or two of the clock after midnight; and this is the entertainment I have had of you this long time. Her Majesty's answer was, it was not gentlewomen's duty to come to their husband's chamber, but rather the husband to come to the wive's chamber, if he had anything to do with her. The King answered, "How came ye to my chamber at the beginning, and ever, till within these few months that DAVIE fell

in with familiarity with you? or am I failed in any sort? or what disdain have you at me? or what offence have I made you, that you should not use me at all times alike? seeing that I am willing to do all things that becometh a good husband to do to his wife, for since you have chose me to be your husband, suppose I be of the baser degree, yet I am your head, and ye promised obedience at the day of our marriage, and that I should be equal with you, and participant in all things. I suppose you have used me otherwise by the persuasions of DAVIE." Her Majesty answered, and said, "that all the shame that was done to her, that my Lord, ye have the weight thereof; for the which I shall never be your wife, nor lie with you; nor shall never like well, till I gar you have as sore a heart as I have presently." Then the said Lord RUTHVEN made answer, and besought her Majesty to be of good comfort, and to treat herself and the

King her husband, and to use the counsel of the nobility, and he was assured her government should be as well guided as ever it was in any King's days. The said Lord being so feebled with his sickness, and wearied with his travel, that he desired her Majesty's pardon to sit down upon a coffer, and called for a drink for God's sake; so a French man brought him a cup of wine, and after that he had drunken, the Queen's Majesty began to rail against the said Lord: "Is this your sickness, Lord RUTHVEN?" The said Lord answered, God forbid that your Majesty had such a sickness; for I had rather give all the moveable goods that I have. Then, said her Majesty, if she died, or her bairn or common-weal perished, she should leave the revenge thereof to her friends to revenge the same upon the Lord RUTHVEN and his posterity; for she had the King of SPAIN her great friend, the Emperor likewise, and the King of FRANCE her good brother, the Cardinal of LORRAIN, and

her uncles in France, besides the Pope's Holiness, with many other Princes in ITALY. The said Lord answered, that these noble Princes were over-great personages to meddle with such a poor man as he was, being her Majesty's own subject: and where her Majesty said, that if either she, her bairn, or the commonweal perished, the Lord RUTHVEN should have the weight thereof; he answered, that if any of the three perished, her Majesty's self and her particular counsel should have the weight thereof, and should be accused as well before God as the world: for there was no man there within that palace, but they that would honour and serve her Majesty, as becometh true subjects; and would suffer no manner of harm to be done to her Majesty's body than to their own hearts; and if any thing be done this night that your Majesty mislikes, charge the King your husband, and none of us your subjects; which the King confessed was of verity. In the

same instant one came knocking fast at the Queen's chamber door, declaring that the Earls HUNTLY, ATHOL, BOTHWELL, CAITHNESS and SUTHERLAND, with the Lords FLEMING, LEVINGSTONE, secretary, TILLIBARN, the comptroller, and the Laird of GRANT, with their own servants and officers of the palace, were fighting in the close against the Earl of MORTON and his company, being on the King's party. The King hearing the same, would have gone down, and the Lord RUTHVEN staid him, and desired him to intreat the Queen's Majesty, and he would go down and take order amongst them. So he passed to the close, borne under the arm; and before his coming the officers were dwong into their houses; and the Lords were holden in at the gallery door by the Earl of MORTON and others being with him, and were constrained to pass up to the gallery and to their chambers. So the said Lord RUTHVEN passed up to the Earl BOTHWELL'S chamber, where he found the

Earls of HUNTLEY, SUTHERLAND, CAITHNESS, the Laird of GRANT, and divers others, to whom he shewed that the whole proceeding that was done that night, was done and invented by the King's Majesty's own devise, like as his hand-written was to shew thereupon; and how he had sent for the Lords that were banished in England and Argyle, who would be there before day: And because there was some enmity unreconciled betwixt the Earls of HUNTLEY and BOTHWELL, and the Earls of ARGYLE and MURRAY, and their colleagues, the said Lords promised in their names, that it should be mended at the sight of two or three of the nobility, they doing such like to them; whereupon the said Earls of HUNTLY and BOTHWELL gave the Lord RUTHVEN their hands, and received his for the other part: and after they had drunken, the Lord RUTHVEN took his leave of them, and passed to the Earl of ATHOL's chamber, accompanied with the Earls of CAITHNESS, SUTHER-

LAND, and the Laird of GRANT; and found with the said Earl the comptroller, secretary, Mr. James BALFOUR, and divers others: and because of the familiarity and kindness betwixt the Earl of ATHOL and the Lord RUTHVEN, the Earl began to be angry with the said Lord, for that he would not shew him what enterprise soever that he had to do; whose answer was, that it was the King's action and the King's devise, and that none of them had further meddling therewith than the King had commanded, like as his hand-written did testify. Yet the Earl enquired further upon the Lord RUTHVEN, why he would not let him know thereof: he answered, it was the King's secret; and feared if he had given knowledge thereof, he would have revealed it to the Queen's Majesty, which might have been a hindrance of the purpose, and caused the King to have holden me unhonest for my part. The Earl perceiving that all that was done was the King's own deed, desired the

said Lord RUTHVEN to pass to the King, and get him leave to pass to his country, and so many as were presently in the chamber with him.

In this meantime the Earls of BOTHWELL and HUNTLEY, taking a fear of the other Lords returning out of England and Argyle, and because they were hardly imprisoned before, thought it better to escape too than to remain; so they went out at a low window, and passed their ways. In the meantime, while the Lord RUTHVEN was with the Earl of ATHOL, the King declared to the Queen's Majesty that he had sent for the Lords to return again; whereunto she answered, she was not in the blame that they were so long away, for she could have been content to have brought them home at any time, had it not been for angering the King; and to verify the same, when her Majesty gave a remission to the Duke, the King was very miscontent therewith: whereto the King answered, that it was true that

he was miscontented then, but now he was content, and doubted not but she would also be content to persevere in the good mind to them as she had done before. At the same time came the Provost of EDINBURGH, and a great number of men of the town with him, in arms, to the utter court of the Palace of HOLYROOD HOUSE, where the King called out of the window to them, commanding them to return to their houses, like as they did; for he declared to them that the Queen's Majesty and he were in good health. The Lord RUTHVEN being come up to the Queen's chamber again, where the King was beside her, he shewed them that there was no hurt done, and that the Lords and all others were merry, and no harm done. Then her Majesty enquired what was become of DAVIE. The said Lord RUTHVEN answered, that he believed he was in the King's chamber; for he thought it not good to shew her as he died, for fear of putting her Majesty in

greater trouble presently. Then the Queen's Majesty enquired of the said Lord what great kindness was betwixt the Earl of MURRAY and him, that rather than he and the remanent should be forfaulted that he would be forfault with them. "Remember ye not," said she, "what the Earl of MURRAY would have had me done to you for giving me the ring?" The Lord RUTHVEN answered, "That he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others for God's sake; and as to that ring, it had no more virtue than another, and was one little ring with a pointed diamond in it." "Remember ye not," said her Majesty, "that ye said it had a virtue to keep me from poisoning?" "Yea, Madam, I said so much, that the ring had that virtue, only to take that evil opinion out of your head of poisoning, which you conceived that the Protestants would have done; which the said Lord knew the contrary, that the Protestants would have

done no more harm to your Majesty's body than to their own hearts; but it was so imprinted in your Majesty's mind, that it could not be taken away without a contrary impression." "Then," said her Majesty, "what fault or offence have I made to be handled in this manner?" "Inquire," said he, "of the King your husband." "Nay, but I will enquire of you," who answered, "Madam, ye well remember that ye have had this long time a few number of privy persons, and most special DAVIE, a stranger Italian, who have guided and ruled you contrary to the advice of your nobility and counsel; and especially against those noblemen that were banished." "But were ye not one of my council? What is the cause that ye should not have declared if I had done anything amiss against them that became me not?" "Because your Majesty would hear no such thing: for all the time that your Majesty was in Glasgow or Dumfriese, let see if ever ye

caused your council to sit, or to reason upon anything, but did all things by your Majesty's self and your privy persons, albeit the nobility bare the pains and expences. Well, said her Majesty, ye find great fault with me, I will be contented to set down my crown before the Lords of the articles; and if they find I have offended, to give it where they please. God forbid, madam, that your crown should be in such hazard; but yet, madam, who chose the Lords of the articles? "Not I," said she, "saving your Majesty's reverence," said the Lord RUTHVEN, ye chose them all in Seaton, and nominated them: And as for your Majesty's council, it hath not been suffered to wait freely this long time, but behoved to say what was your pleasure. And as to the Lords of the articles, your Majesty chose such as would say whatsoever you thought expedient to the forfaulters of the Lords banished: And now when the Lords of the articles have sitten fourteen

days reasoning on the summons of treason, have ye found a just head wherefore they ought to be forfaulted? No, madam, not so much as one point, without false witness be brought in against them. Whereunto she gave no answer.

The Lord RUTHVEN perceiving that the Queen's Majesty was weary, said to the King, "Sir, it is best ye take your leave at the Queen's Majesty, that she may take rest:" So the King took his good-night, and came forth of the Queen's chamber, and we with him, and left none there but the ladies, gentlewomen, and the grooms of the Queen's Majesty's chamber. And as soon as the King came to his own chamber, the Lord RUTHVEN declared the message he had from the Earl of ATHOL to the King, that he might have license to return home to Athol: Which the King was loth to do without he gave him a bond that he should be his. The Lord RUTHVEN answered, that he was a true man of his promise, and

would keep the thing he said, as well as others would do their handwriting and seal. Then the King desired him to fetch the Earl of ATHOL to him, which he did: And after the King and Earl of ATHOL had talked together, he desired the Earl to be ready to come whensoever he should send for him. His answer was, that whensoever it pleased the Queen's Grace and him to send for him, that he would come gladly: And the Earl desired the King that he might speak with the Queen's Majesty, which the King refused. And then the Earl took his good-night, and passed to his chamber, and the Lord RUTHVEN with him, where he made him ready and his company to pass forth, like as they did; and in his company were the Earls of SUTHERLAND and CATHNESS, the Master of CATHNESS, the secretary, and controler, Mr. James BALFOUR, the Laird of GRANT, with divers others. Immediately the King directed two writings, subscribed with his hand, on Saturday

after the slaughter of DAVIE, to certain men of Edenburg bearing office for the time, charging them to convene men in arms, and make watch within the town upon the Calsay; and to suffer none others to be seen out of their houses, except Protestants, under all highest pain and charge that after may follow. And on the morrow after, which was Sunday the 10th of March, the King directed a letter, subscribed with his hand, making mention that it was not his will that the Parliament should hold, for divers causes, but discharged the same by the tenor thereof: And therefore commanding all Prelats, Earls, Lords, Barons, Commissioners, and Barrowis, and others that are warned to the said parliament, to depart from Edenburg within three hours next after that charge, under the pain of life, lands, and goods, except so many as the King by his special command caused to remain; which letter was openly proclaimed at the market-cross, and fully obeyed. The

gates being locked, the King being in his bed, the Queen's Majesty walking in her chamber, the said Lord RUTHVEN took air upon the lower gate, and the privy passages; and at the King's command, in the mean time, DAVIE was hurled down the steps of the stairs from the place where he was slain, and brought to the porter's lodge; where the porter's servant taking off his clothes, said, "This hath been his destiny; for upon this chest was his first bed when he entred into this place; and now here he lieth again, a very ingrate and misknowing knave. The King's whiniard was found sticking in DAVIE'S side after he was dead; but always the Queen inquired of the King where his whiniard was? who answered, that he wit not well: Well, said she, it will he known afterwards.

The King rose at eight of the clock, and passed to the Queen's chamber, where he and she fell to reasoning of the matter proceeded the night afore, the one grating

on the other till it was ten o'clock, then the King came down to his chamber; and at his coming from her, she desired him to let all the ladies and gentlewomen come unto her, which the King granted, and at his coming down shewed the same to the Earl of MORTON and Lord RUTHVEN, who were not contented with the same: and shewed the King, that they feared that the Queen's Majesty would traffick by them with the Lords, and all other that would do for her, like as it followed indeed: For instantly her Majesty wrote some writing, and caused them to write others in her name to the Earls of ARGILE, HUNTLEY, BOTHWELL, ATHOL, and others. After that the King had dined, he passed up to the Queen's Majesty's chamber, where the Queen made as she would have parted with bairn, and caused the midwife to come and say the same. So her Majesty complained that she could get none of the gentlewomen to come up to her, Scots nor

French. The King sending this word to the Earl of MORTON and Lord RUTHVEN, all were let in that pleased. At the same time the Queen's Majesty thought that the Lord RUTHVEN would do her body harm, and sent JOHN SEMPLE to Lord Ruthven to enquire what her Majesty might lippen unto in that behalf: Whose answer was, that he would do no more harm to her body, than to his own heart; if any man intended to do otherwise, he should defend her Majesty's body at the uttermost of his power. And further said, her Majesty had experience of his mind in that night's proceeding, when he suffered none to come near her Majesty to molest and trouble her. JOHN SEMPLE brought this message to the Lord RUTHVEN at two of the clock afternoon, sitting then in the King's utter chamber at his dinner. At four of the clock the King came down to his chamber, where the Lord RUTHVEN shewed him that the Queen's Majesty was to steal out among the throng of the

gentlewomen in their down coming, as he said he was advertised. So the King commanded him to give attendance thereto; which he did, and put certain to the door, and let no body nor gentlewomen pass forth undismuffled.

After, about seven or eight of the clock, the Earls of MURRAY and ROTHES, with their complices, came out of England, and lighted at the Abbey, and were thankfully received of the King; and after certain communing, the Earl of MURRAY took his good night of the King, and passed to the Earl of MORTON'S house to supper. Immediately thereafter, the Queen's Majesty sent one of her ushers, called ROBERT PHIRSELL, for the Earl of MURRAY; who passed to her Majesty, whom she received pleasantly, as appeared; and after communing, he passed to the Earl of MORTON'S house again, where he remained that night. At this time the King remained communing with the Queen's Majesty, and after long reasoning

with her, she granted to lie with him all night, he coming to her chamber, and putting all men out of his utter chamber, except the waiters of the chamber, and made a complaint that her gentlewomen could not go forth at the door undismuffled at the King's coming down. He shewed the Earl of MORTON and Lord RUTHVEN the whole manner of his proceedings with the Queen's Majesty, which they liked no way, because they perceived the King grew effeminate again; and said to him, we see no other but ye are able to do that thing that will gar you and us both repent. Always he would have the said Earl and Lord to rid all the house, conform to the Queen's Majesty's desire; which they did, and the Lord RUTHVEN passed and lay in the King's wardrobe: and after he was lien down, GEORGE DOUGLAS came to him, and shewed him that the King was fallen asleep. He caused GEORGE to go to wake the King; and after that he had gone in twice or thrice, finding him sleeping

so sound, he would not awake him. Thereat the said Lord was very miscontented; the King slept still till six in the morning, that the Lord RUTHVEN came and reproved him, that he had not kept his promise to the Queen's Majesty, in lying with her all that night. His answer was, that he was fallen on such a dead sleep that he could not awaken; and put the blame to WILLIAM TELLOR, one of his servants, that permitted him to sleep. But always, said he, "I will take my night-gown and go up to the Queen. The Lord RUTHVEN answered, "I trust she shall serve you in the morning as you did her at night." Always the King passed up, being Monday the 11th of March, at six of the clock, to her Majesty's chamber, and sat down on the bed-side, she being sleeping, or at least made herself so, and sat there by the space of one hour e're she spoke word to him. Then when her Majesty waked, she enquired of the King, why he came not up yesterday night con-

form to his promise? He answered, he fell in so dead a sleep, that he awaked not afore six. Now, saith he, am I come, and offered to lie down beside her Majesty; but she would not suffer him, for she said she was sick, and would ride incontinent. Then the King fell in reasoning with her Majesty towards the returning of the said Lords that were banished, and forgiving of them all offences, and likewise for the slaughter of DAVIE: and as appeared to him her Majesty was content; for the King came down to his own chamber at eight of the clock very merrily, and shewed the Earl of MORTON and Lord RUTHVEN the proceedings betwixt him and the Queen's Majesty: who answered him, and said, "all was but words that they heard." For look how ye intend to perswade her Majesty; we fear she will persuade you to follow her will and desire, by reason she hath been trained up from her youth in the court of France, as well in the affairs of France

as Scotland, in the privy council. Well, said the King, will ye let me alone, and I will warrant to dress all things well. And after that the King had put on his clothes, he passed at nine to the Queen's chamber, where he reasoned of many things with her Majesty: and at his returning to his dinner at eleven, he declared to the Earls of MURRAY and MORTON, Lords RUTHVEN and LINDSAY, that he had addressed the Queen's Majesty; that the said two Earls and Lord RUTHVEN, should come to the presence of the Queen's Majesty, that she would forgive, and put in oblivion all things by past, and bury them out of her Majesty's mind, as they had never been. The said Earls and Lords answered, "that all that speaking was but policy; and suppose it were promised, little or nothing would be kept." Always the King took freely in hand, and had them make such security as they pleased, and the Queen's Majesty and he should subscribe the same. And then after dinner

the King passed up again to the Queen's chamber, where the midwife was made to come to him, and said, "that the Queen would not fail to part with bairn, if her Majesty went not to some other place where there were more freer air:" and in like manner divers of the Lords said the same. And the King returning to his chamber at three afternoon, declared the same to the Earls and Lord RUTHVEN: And in the meantime in came the French doctor, who declared to the King, that it was unable to the Queen's Majesty to eschew a fever; which, if she take, she will not fail to part with bairn, without she were transported from that place to some better aired place. After they were departed, the King inquired of the said Earls and Lords, what they thought of their speaking? Who answered, "they feared all was but craft and policy that was spoken and done." Always the King would not trow the same, and said, "that she was a

true Princess, and that thing she promised, he would set his life for the same." And between four and five afternoon, the King passed to the Queen's chamber, and took the Earls of MORTON, MURRAY, and Lord RUTHVEN with him; and after they had come to the Queen's utter chamber, the King went and left the Lords, to know her pleasure, whether her Majesty would come out of her utter chamber, or if the Lords should come into her Majesty. She took purpose, and came out of the utter chamber, led by the King; the said Earls and Lords sitting down upon their knees, made their general oration by the Earl of MORTON, chancellor, and after, their particular orations by themselves. And after that her Majesty had heard all, her answer was, that it was not unknown to the Lords, that she was never blood-thirsty, nor greedy upon their lands and goods, sithence her coming into Scotland; nor yet would be upon theirs that were present, but would remit the whole number

that was banished, or were at the last deed; and bury and put all things in oblivion as if they had never been; and so caused the said Earls, Lords, and Barons to arise on their feet. And afterwards her Majesty desired them to make their own security in that sort they pleased best, and she should subscribe the same. Thereafter her Majesty took the King by the one hand, and the Earl of MURRAY by the other, and walked in her said utter chamber the space of one hour; and then her Majesty passed into her inner chamber, where she and the King appointed that all they that were on the King's party, should go forth of the place after supper. The King coming down to his chamber afore six of the clock, the articles which were the security that were on the King's party, were given by the Earls of RUTHVEN and MORTON, and Lords RUTHVEN and LINDSEY to the King, to be subscribed by the Queen, which the King took in hand so soon as he had

supped to be done; and he desired the said Lords to remove themselves out of the palace, to that effect, that her Majesty's guard and servants might order all as they pleased. The Lords answer was to the King, you may well cause us to do that thing that is your pleasure, but it is sore against our wills; for we fear all this is but deceit that is meant towards us, and that the Queen's Majesty will pass away secretly, and take you with her, either to the castle of Edenburg, or else Dunbar. And here the Lord RUTHVEN protested, that what end followed thereupon, or what blood was shed for the same, that it should come upon the King's head and posterity, and nought upon theirs. The King said, "he should warrant all." So they departed, and took their leave of the King, and passed all forth of the palace of Holyrood-house to the Earl of MORTON'S house, where they supped; and after supper directed Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS to the King, to see

if the Queen's Majesty had subscribed the articles of the Lords and Barons security. The King gave answer, that he had let the Queen's Majesty see them, who found them very good; and because she was sick and going to her bed, she delayed the subscribing of them to the morning; and immediately after Mr. ARCHIBALD returned to the Lords with answer. The Laird of TRAQUAIR, master of the guard, made an errant to the Earl of MURRAY, to see what the Lords were doing, and after he was departed, the whole Earls, Lords, and Barons, with gentlemen, passed to the town of Edenburg to their beds, believing surely the Queen's Majesty's promise, and the King's.

The same night about one o'clock after midnight, the Queen's Majesty and the King with her, went out at a back-door that passed through the wine-cellar; where ARTHUR ERSKIN, the captain of the guard, and other six or seven persons, met her Majesty with her horses, and

rode towards Dunbar; and on the morrow, which was Tuesday the 12th of March, the Lords hearing how the Queen's Majesty was departed, and taken the King with her, convened the Earls, Lords, Barons, and gentlemen, and after the matter was appointed, enquired every man's opinion, which concluded all to remain in the town of Edenburg, till such time they might send some noblemen to her Majesty for performance of the articles promised for their security; and to that effect sent for the Lord SEMPLE, and desired him that he would pass to Dunbar, with a writing of the Lords, which he granted to do, and received the same with a copy of the articles that the King received before, and promised to do his utter diligence to get the same immediately sped, if it were the King and Queen's Majesties pleasure so to do. After the Lord SEMPLE's coming to Dunbar, having presented the Lords writing to their Majesties, he was evil taken with

the Queen's Majesty, who caused him to remain three days: he reported at his returning, that there was no good way to be looked for there, but extremity to the Earls, Lords, and gentlemen, who had been at the slaughter of DAVID, notwithstanding her Majesty's promise made before. At that time her Majesty being in Dunbar, wrote to all Earls, Lords, and Barons to meet her in Haddington town the 17th or 18th of March, and likewise directed universal letters, charging all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen to be there, day and place aforesaid, being in arms in fear of war; and also sent divers charges to the Lord ERSKINE, captain of the castle of Edinburgh, to shut up the town unless the Lords departed out of it. In this time it was declared to the Earl of MURRAY, that if he would sue address to the Queen's Majesty, he would obtain the same, who shewed it to the Lords, who counselled him to write to her Majesty to that effect; which he did, and received

her Majesty's answer with certain articles. In this time the Earls of GLENCAIRN and ROTHES took their appointment of the Queen's Majesty. The Earl of MORTON, Lord RUTHVEN, and the remanent their complices, perceiving that the Queen was willing to remit the Lords banished into England and Argyle, and bare her Majesty's whole rage against them that were with the King at the slaughter of DAVIE, thought best to retire themselves into England, under the Queen's Majesty of England's protection, till such time as the nobility of Scotland, their peers, understood their cause; for they have done nothing without the King's command, as is before mentioned, and doubt not but their cause shall be found just and honest whatsoever the same be tried; and lament the extream handling contrary to order and justice, that they may not compear for fear of their lives; in respect that her Majesty hath caused a band to be made, and all Earls, Lords,

and Barons, that resorted to her Majesty, to subscribe the same, that they shall pursue the said Earl MORTON, Lord RUTHVEN, and LINDSAY, and their complices with fire and sword; which is against all order of the law: And on Saturday, the 22d of March, her Majesty hath caused to be sommoned the Earl of MORTON, Lords RUTHVEN and LINDSAY, the Master of RUTHVEN, Lairds of Ormyston, BRINSTON, HALTON, ELVELSTON, CALDER, ANDREW CARR of Faldomside, ALEXANDER RUTHVEN, brother to the Lord RUTHVEN, PATRICK MURRAY of Tippermure, WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Whittingham, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS his brother, GEORGE DOUGLAS, LYNDSAY of Prystone, THOMAS SCOTT of Cambysmichet, WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Loch Leven, JAMES JEFFERT of Shreffal, ADAM ERSKINE, commendator of Camskinnel, MENTERSHFEAR of Kars, PATRICK BALLENDEN of Stenehouse, brother to Justice Clerk, PATRICK WOOD of Conyton,

Mr. JAMES MAGIL, Clerk of Registers, with others, to compear before her Majesty and secret council within six days, under the pain of rebellion, and putting them to her horn, and eschetting and bringing of all their moveable goods, the which like order is not used in any Christian realm; nor is it the law of Scotland of old, but new cropen in, and invented by them that understand no law nor yet good practice: and how her Majesty hath handled the Barons of LOTHIAN our brothers, it is known; and in likewise our poor brethren of Edinburgh, merchants and craftsmen, and how they are oppressed by the men of war, God knoweth, who will put remedy hereto when it pleaseth him best: and how the Lords and Barons wives are oppressed in spoiling of their places, robbing of their goods without any fine for the same, it would pity a godly heart. And where her Majesty alledgeth, that night that DAVIE was slain, some held pistols to her Majesty; some

stroke whiniards so near her, that she felt the coldness of the iron, with many other such like sayings, which we take God to record was never meant nor done; for the said DAVIE received never a stroke in her Majesty's presence, nor was not stricken till he was at the farthest door of her Majesty's utter chamber, as is before rehearsed. Her Majesty makes all these allegations to draw the Earl MORTON the Lords RUTHVEN and LINDSAY, and their complices, in greater hatred with other foreign princes, and with the nobility and commonalty of the realm, who have experience of the contrary, and know that there was no evil meant to her Majesty's body. The eternal God who hath the rule of Princes hearts in his hands, send her his Holy Spirit, to instruct her how she should rule and govern with clemency and mercy over her subjects.

Written at Berwick the 28th day of March, 1565.

JOURNAL

OF THE MOST

MIRACULOUS ESCAPE

OF THE

YOUNG CHEVALIER.

A GENUINE AND TRUE

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From the Battle of *Culloden*, to his landing in *France*.

EDITED BY

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.

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ESCAPE

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YOUNG CHEVALIER,

From the Battle of *Culloden*, to his landing in *France*.

Taken from the Mouths and Journals of the very Perſons who aſſiſted him therein.

Partly wrote in London, *and partly in* Scotland.

To which is added,

A ſhort ACCOUNT of what befel the Pr. in *France*, and of the Manner of taking him Priſoner, and of ſending him to *Avignon*.

Together with

A brief RELATION of what became of ſome of thoſe who compoſed his Army.

By an ENGLISHMAN.

LONDON:

Printed for *B. A.* near *Charing Croſs.* 1749.

PREFACE.

THE *following Relation, or Journal of the young Chevalier's Escape, was at first wrote out of curiosity; which I was induced to do, by having so many opportunities of conversing with the chief of the Parties who were instrumental in conducting and assisting him in his escape; for which they were taken, and detained Prisoners for a considerable Time, and were at last dismissed, without ever being examined at the Cockpit, or elsewhere, by Authority of the Secretaries of State. Part was taken from those carried Prisoners to* London, *and the rest, from those in* Scotland; *but, after the Pr.'s Return to the Continent of* Scotland, *on the 6th of* July, *from the Western Isles, to his embarking for* France, *is taken from the Rev. Mr.* Cameron's *Journal, who accompanied him most of that Time. The rest of the Account, in relation to what befel him in* France, *and to his leaving* Avignon, *is taken from the best Authorities published, and from private Letters sent to different Places; many of which have not yet been made publick; es-*

pecially that which gives the manner of taking, detaining as Prisoner, and sending the Pr. out of France.

Thus much I thought proper to premise, in order to convince the Reader, that this Relation is genuine, and not composed of a very few facts, and the rest made up of Falsities and Fiction, the Work of a fruitful Brain; like those Pamphlets intitled, Ascanius, The Wanderer, *and* The Chevalier; *which last is one of the greatest impositions upon the Publick. For this Reason, I have been strongly solicited, by all who have seen my historical Account, to publish it; which I should have done much sooner, had I not waited to see if some abler Writer would favour the World, with giving it a true Relation of that most miraculous and almost incredible Escape: The Truth of which would have been much disputed, had not the different Persons therein concerned been taken into Custody; many of whom told Gen.* Campbell *the same Story, as is herein very circumstantially related, when they were taken before him in* Scotland. *All which I have endeavoured to tell in their own Words, as near as I could, without altering their Sense or Meaning.*

This I do, without the least Regard to the Censure of the hot-headed Zealots, who make it tantamount to downright Disaffection, to assert that the young Chevalier has not a cloven Foot, or something monstrous about him.

I think it is very extraordinary, that any People can be so weak as to imagine, that personal reflexions, little mean Aspersions, or idle malicious Tales and Insinuations, should be any support to a Cause, or deprive the Antagonists of the least Share of their intrinsick Merit: Or that they should be so blind as to think of getting the better in any thing by Misrepresentation and Lies; which can produce nothing but Errors, and a mean Opinion of the Authors, in the Eyes of all impartial Men of Sense and Judgment. Speaking what is just of a Man, is not approving his Cause; that is entirely his own Affair, in which he acts by the Approbation of his Conscience, and a firm Belief of Right in himself. And no Persons of Moderation or serious Reflexion would ever vilify any Man's Character on that Account, any more than they ought to do that of the Person who opposes him upon the same Principles. Virtue ought certainly to be revered where-ever it is found; and, with how much Reason soever the Claim *of the young Chevalier may be obnoxius, it follows not, that his good Qualities should be so too, or that we should deny our Pity for those Misfortunes to which he was born,* and fall not on him through his own Misconduct, but that of others. *I shall therefore only add, that I have carefully avoided all kind of fulsome Exaggerations, as well as all ungenerous Invectives. Wherefore I hope all will read and judge without Prejudice.*

A TRUE JOURNAL, &c.

AFter the Highlanders gave way at the Battle of *Culloden*, the Pr. was forced off the Field by Major *Kennedy* and the other Officers, while the *French* Forces and some few *Scots* kept the Duke's Army engaged for some time, to prevent any immediate Pursuit.

Many Gentlemen and others went to guard the Pr. safe off; and at some Distance from the Field of Battle a Council was held, in which it was agreed, that all *Fitz-James*'s Horse, and all other Horsemem, should go to *Ruthven* in *Badenoch*, except some few. Here it was the Pr. desired the Gentlemen to begin to separate, that their Enemies might not so easily know what Route each of them should take; and accordingly the Hon. *Charles Boyd*, Esq; second Son of the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and some others, kissed the Pr.'s Hand, and went off on their respective Routes.

The Pr. then, with some other Gentlemen, proceeded on his Journey; and the first Place where he stopt, was at *Tordarroch*, about nine Miles from *Inverness:* But, as there was no Person at home, they all went to *Aberardar*, in *Macintosh*'s Country, three Miles farther; thence to *Faroline*,

in *Lovat*'s Country, five Miles; and thence one Mile more to *Gortulaige*, where they met Lord *Lovat*, and drank two or three Glasses of Wine.

Here Lord *Elcho* took his leave, and set forward for *Kinlochmoidart;* where he arrived a few Days after the Battle; not a little disgusted, that other Officers would not be led by him in every thing.

There came hither with the Pr. Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, Sir *David Murray*, (one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps), *Sullivan*, Mr. *Alexander Macleod*, (one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps, and Son of Mr. *John Macleod* Advocate), *John Hay*, (who was Secretary in *Murray*'s Sickness or Absence), *Edward Burk*, (*Alexander Macleod*'s Servant), Mr. *Hay*'s Servant, and *Allan Macdonald*, who went as a Guide.

About Ten o'Clock at Night, the Pr. and his few Attendants proceeded on their Journey. They arrived at *Glengary*, or *Invergary* Castle, about Four or Five o'Clock in the Morning, and found only one Man there; who said, *Glengary* and his Family were abroad, and had left no Provisions or Furniture in the House: So the Pr. was obliged to lie on the Floor without any Refreshment.

When Day-light appeared, *Edward Burk* above mentioned saw a Net; which he drew in the Water, and catched two Salmons; on which they dined very well.

Here all the Company took their leaves of the Pr. and went to *Arnaby*, except *Sullivan*, *Allan Macdonald*, and *Edward Burk*, whom Mr. *Macleod* left to be the Pr.'s Guide.

About Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the Pr. set forward with his three Companions, having dressed himself in *Edward Burk*'s Cloaths; and went to *Donald Cameron*'s at *Glenpean*, in *Lochiel*'s Country, where they arrived about Nine at Night.

On the 18th, the Pr. went to *Mewboll*, in *Clanranald*'s Country; where he staid all Night, was well entertained, and got some Sleep, which he had not had for five Days and Nights; his Army having been under Arms, marching and countermarching, without Sleep, or much Meat, for forty eight Hours before the Battle.

The next Day, being the 19th, the Pr. waited some Hours in hopes of getting Intelligence of some of his Friends after their Defeat; but hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on Foot, the Horseroad not only being about, but so bad, as to be scarce, if at all passable. He therefore walked, over almost innaccessible Mountains, to the Glen of *Morar*, or *Kinloch-Morar*; and thence to Glen *Biasdale*, or *Boradale*, in *Arisaig*, *Clanranald*'s Country, through as bad Ways as can be conceived. Hither Mr. *Æneas Macdonald*, the Banker, came to meet the Pr. who had wrote to him for that Purpose; and returned again the same Night to

his Brother's House at *Kinlochmoidart*. About two Days after this, Lord *Elcho*, and *Oneille*, got to *Kinlochmoidart*.

Here the Pr. waited several Days till Captain *Oneille* came to him, by Sir *Thomas Sheridan*'s Directions, and told him, that all Hopes of drawing his Troops together again were now over: Upon which he resolved at last to go to the Western Islands, whence he thought that he could get a Vessel to *France*.

Strong were the Debates about leaving the Continent of *Scotland*, and going to the Isles. The Highlanders endeavoured to dissuade the Pr. from undertaking so dangerous a Step: But, at last, *Sullivan*, whose Advice had injured his Master more than once, prevailed upon him to go, asserting the great Probability of getting a Ship there soon, and the great Danger of staying where they were. But the Pr. following this Advice, had like to have lost his Life many ways; as we shall find in the Sequel.

In one Day three several Messengers got to *Donald Macleod*, who had been with Mr. *Æneas Macdonald* to the Isles, to fetch some Money from the Isle of *Barra*, and was returning when the Battle was ended. These three were sent, lest any of them should have missed him. Their Errand was to desire Mr. *Macleod* would go to the Pr. at *Boradale*.

Pursuant to this Summons, *Donald* went; and,

in going through a Wood on the 20th or 21st of *April*, met the Pr. walking alone. The Pr. seeing *Donald*, went up to him boldly, and asked him, "If he was *Donald Macleod* of *Gualtergil*, in "the Isle of *Sky?*" "Yes," said *Donald*. Then said the Pr. "You see the Distress I am in; I "therefore throw myself into your Bosom; do "with me what you like; *I am your Prince.*"

In repeating these Words, the poor old Man burst into a Flood of Tears, and said, "I hope, "Sir, (meaning the Person he was telling this to), "you'll pardon me; for who can forbear weeping "in relating so sad a Subject?" *Donald*, having wiped his Eyes, proceeded, and said, he told the Pr. "That as he (*Macleod*) was old, he was afraid "he could not be of any Service to the "Pr. but yet was willing to do what he could." Then says the Pr. "I desire you'll go with Letters "from me to Sir *Alexander Macdonald* and the "Laird of *Macleod*; for I am persuaded that "those Gentlemen, notwithstanding what they "have done, will yet endeavour to protect me."

This last Declaration of the Pr. struck *Donald* with Surprise; and he immediately told the Pr. "He would do anything for him [the Pr.] except "that: Because, says *Donald*, your Highness "knows they have played the R——e already; "and you must not trust them again: For at this "very Time they are in search for you, with their "Forces, within ten or twelve Miles of you, if

"they come by Sea, though it be more by Land; "and therefore the sooner you remove from this "Place the better."

Upon *Donald*'s Refusal as above, the Pr. said, "As you are a good Pilot, I desire then, that you "will conduct me through the Islands to some "safer Place than this." Which *Donald Macleod* readily agreed to; and accordingly procured an eight-oar'd Boat, late the Property of *John Macdonald*, Son of *Æneas* or *Angus Macdonald* of *Boradale*. This *John* was either killed at the Battle of *Culloden*, or murdered the next Day; for he has never been heard of since. *Donald Macleod* also bought a Pot to boil Meat in, when they should arrive on Shore, and a Firlot of Meal; which was all the Provision he could get there.

On the 26th, they went on board in the Twilight in the Evening, at *Lochnannuagh* in *Boradale*; being the same Place where the Pr. first landed on the Continent of *Scotland*, and *Boradale*'s House was the first he entered. There were in the Boat, the Pr. *Oneille*, *Sullivan*, *Allan Macdonald*, of *Clanranald*'s Family, and *Donald Macleod*, who was Pilot, and betwixt whose Knees the Pr. sat. The Names of the Boatmen were *Rhoderick Macdonald*, *Lauchlan Macmurrich*, *Rhoderick Macaskgill*, *John Macdonald*, *Murdoch Macleod*, Son of the Pilot, *Duncan Roy*, *Alexander Macdonald*, and *Edward Burk*, who had conducted the Pr. from the Battle of *Culloden* to this Place.

The above *Murdoch Macleod* was then only fifteen Years old; and when he heard of the speedy Appearance of a Battle, provided for himself a Claymore, a Durk, and a Pistol, and went to the Battle of *Culloden*; whence he escaped, though hurt; and hunting out the Pr. all the Way, followed him, and here met both the Pr. and his own Father very well.

I can't help remarking here, that the Pr. must have been greatly beloved in this Country, when this Lad could hunt him out so as to find him, and the military Folks never could. So backward were People to tell where the Pr. was, when his Life was in danger.

When they were about to go into the Boat, *Donald Macleod* begged the Pr. would not go that Night, because it would prove a Storm. But the Pr. was so anxious to be gone, that he was determined to set forwards.

They had not gone far, before the Storm, which *Donald Macleod* foresaw at a distance, reached them; and was greater than *Donald* had ever seen before, though always a seafaring Man, on that Coast: but with this additional grief, that it rained most violently all the Time they were out. And, what was still worse, they had neither Pump nor Compass with them; and the Night was as dark as possible, insomuch that none of them knew where they were. This increased their Fears, lest they should be drove on the Isle of *Sky*, where the

Militia were in Arms. But next Morning, as the Light increased, they discovered they were on the Coast of the *Long Isle*, (as that Chain of Isles is commonly called here); where, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, with great Difficulty, they landed at a Point of Land called *Rossinish*, in the N.E. Part of the Isle of *Benbecula*, and haled their Boat on Shore to dry Land; having run about thirty Leagues in eight Hours: A most extraordinary quick Voyage. This Isle lies in 57 deg. 40 min. N. Lat. is about five Miles long from East to West, and three broad from North to South, and lies betwixt *North* and *South Uist* Islands.

Thus this Storm, which the whole Crew thought a great Misfortune at first, was one of the most providential Things that could befal them: For it prevented any immediate Attempt to follow the Pr. and if any Boats were out, and could get into a secure Place, they would certainly put in, rather than run such an apparent Hazard of being drowned; which nothing but the immediate Hand of Providence could prevent, especially in an eight-oar'd open Boat, crowded and overloaded with thirteen People. So ready is the Frailty of human Nature to find fault with what Providence sends as a real Good! At this Time, very lucky for the Pr. the Duke of *Cumberland* and his Army thought he had sailed for *St. Kilda* in the North; a Place so remote, that no Suspicion would be readily entertained of the Pr. being there. This Place

belongs to the Laird of *Macleod*; and the People there pay their Rents in Feathers of the *Solan* Geese; for which that Laird's Factor goes thither annually. This is so still.

The Duke of *Cumberland*, imagining that the Pr. was gone to *St. Kilda*, sent Gen. *Campbell* (*John Hay*, Commander of a Customhouse-yacht, being Pilot) with as considerable a Force as could be conveyed by the Fleet then present.

On Sight of this Fleet, the inhabitants fled to hide themselves in the Cliffs of Rocks, being terrified, having never seen such a Sight before.

Some of the Forces, being landed, inquired of such of the Inhabitants as they could find, what was become of the Pretender? To whom these poor Creatures replied, That they had never heard of such a Person. They said, indeed, they had heard a Report, that their Laird [*Macleod*] had lately been at War with a Woman a great Way abroad, but that he had got the better of her: and that was all they knew of the Affairs of the World. So the General then returned *re infecta*.

The Pr. here, in *Benbecula*, got on Shore into an uninhabited Hut, and helped to make a Fire to warm the Crew, who were almost starved to Death with Cold and Wet. The Storm continued for fourteen Hours after they landed.

Here the Pr. bought a Cow for thirty Shillings, and immediately shot her, and had some of her boiled in the Pot which *Donald Macleod* had

bought. After which the Pr. lay down on the Floor, having no other Bed than an old Sail-cloth, and slept very sound; but the Crew were obliged to keep a good Look-out, lest they should be surprised by any Party of Men.

They staid two Nights in this Place; so that on the 29th in the Evening, the Weather being favourable, they set sail about Six o'Clock for *Stornway* in the Island of *Lewis*, in N. Lat. 58 deg. 8 min. where *Donald Macleod* did not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper Vessel to convey the Pr. safe into *France*. They took some of their Beef with them, and set sail; but, meeting with another Storm, they were obliged to put into the Island of *Scalpay* or *Glass*, near the *Harris*, belonging to the Laird of *Macleod*, and is about fourteen Leagues North of *Benbecula*. This Island is about one Mile long, and half a Mile broad.

Here they all went on Shore about two Hours before Day-light on the 30th in the Morning, and passed for Merchants shipwrecked in their Voyage to the *Orkneys*; the Pr. and *Sullivan* going by the name of *Sinclair*; the latter for the Father, and former for the Son; and were well entertained at one *Donald Campbell*'s House, a farmer.

The next Day, *May* 1. *Donald Macleod*, so often mentioned, procuring a Boat of his Friend *Campbell*, went to *Stornway* with Instructions to freight a Vessel for the *Orkneys*.

On the 3rd of *May*, the Pr. received a Message from Mr. *Macleod*, That a Ship was ready. The next Day, therefore, the Pr. having got another Boat with four Men, landed at *Loch-Shefort*; where *Allan Macdonald* took his Leave, and went for *South-Uist*.

The Pr. then having *Oneille*, *Sullivan*, and his Guide, with him, set out on Foot for *Stornway*, which is about sixteen Miles by Land, and arrived at the Point of *Arynish*, about half a Mile S.E. from *Stornway*, on the 5th about Noon; having travelled eighteen Hours on the Hills in a wet stormy Night, without any kind of Refreshment, and were misled by their Guide, either through Ignorance or Design, having conducted them eight Miles out of the Way, when they might have avoided that Trouble by crossing the Ferry from *Scalpay* to the *Harris*, which is about a Quarter of a Mile over. This, though they then thought it a Misfortune, yet proved to be the very providential Means of preventing the Pr. from being taken; which, had they arrived there sooner, would have been the Case, as we shall see presently.

From this Place the Pr. sent his Guide to *Donald Macleod* at *Stornway*, desiring he would send some Brandy, Bread and Cheese, for they were almost starved and famished. The faithful *Donald* soon brought it himself to the Pr. and his two Companions on the Moor, all wet to the

Skin, and much wearied with their Journey; wherefore *Donald* took them to Lady *Kildun*'s [*Mackenzie*] at *Arynish*, to wait there till every thing should be ready for setting sail. Being wearied, the Pr. went to Sleep.

This done, *Donald Macleod* returned to *Stornway*; but was greatly surprised to find the Men there rising in Arms, above 200 having already got up. *Donald*, not knowing what was the Occasion of this Rising, went directly into the Room where the Gentlemen were, who had taken upon them the Rank of Officers, and asked them, "What was the Matter?" On which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We hear "the Pr. is upon *Lewis*, and not far from *Stornway*, coming with 500 Men, to burn the Town "and take away our Cattle, *&c.* and to force a "Vessel from *Stornway* to carry him to *France*.' *Donald* replied, "I think you are all mad. Where "the Devil could the Pr. in his present Condition, "get either 500 or 100 Men?" They replied, "That Mr. *John Macaulay*, a Presbyterian "Minister in *South-Uist*, had wrote this to his "Father in the *Harris*; and that the Father had "sent the same to Mr. *Colin Mackenzie* Minister "in the *Lewis*."* "Well then, (says *Donald*), "since you know the Pr. is already on the Island,

* This Isle of *Lewis* belongs to Lord *Seaforth*, and is inhabited by the *Mackenzies*. (Original Note).

"I own he is; but he is so far from having any "Forces, that he has only two Companions, and, "when I am there, I make a third: And let me "tell you farther, Gentlemen, if *Seaforth* himself "was here, he durst not (by G—d) put a Hand "to the Pr.'s Breast."

Upon this the *Mackenzies* declared, "That they "had no Intention to do the Pr. any, even the "least Harm; or to meddle with him at present "in any shape; but then desired, he might leave "them, and go to the Continent, or any where "else." The Wind being fair, *Donald Macleod* then desired a Pilot; but they refused him one. *Donald* then returned to the Pr. and gave him a full and honest Account how Matters stood; on which they were all at a loss what Step to take. Some proposed to fly to the Moor; but the Pr. replied, "He would not. I'll stand my Ground, "(said he); for, if we fly, our Enemies may be "encouraged to pursue."

Now the Reader may observe, that, had not the Pr. been taken out of the Way eight Miles by the Guide, he would have been in the Town of *Stornway* when Mr. *Macaulay*'s Letter to Mr. *Colin Mackenzie* arrived; and then the People would have risen upon him, and have either killed him in their Fury, or taken him Prisoner: Both which he thus providentially escaped.

At this Time, the Pr. *Oneille*, and *Sullivan*, had only six Shirts amongst them, and

were frequently obliged to strip off the wet ones before the others were half dry.

Two of the four Boatmen had fled up to the Moor, upon seeing the People rising at *Stornway*; and the other two went off to Sea with the Boat.

While they were at Lady *Kildun*'s, they killed a Cow; for which the Pr. would have paid, but she at first refused, till the Pr. insisted upon it. When they left the Place, they took some of the Cow with them, two Pecks of Meal, and Plenty of Brandy and Sugar; and, at parting, Lady *Kildun* gave *Edward Burk* a large Lump of Butter. This Man was generally Cook; but the Pr. was the best Cook, and made them a Cake, or Bread, of the Brains of the Cow mixed up with Meal, and baked it upon a Stone before the Fire.

They staid here all Night; and, about Two o'Clock in the Morning, being the 6th of *May*, the two Boatmen returned with the Boat: And, as soon as Day-light appeared, they got into the Boat, and rowed away with only two Boatmen, the other not returning from the Moor.

The Pr. and Company resolved to go, in *Donald Campbell*'s Boat, to the *Orkneys*; but the Men would not venture; so they were obliged to steer South, along the Coast-side, hoping to meet with better Success. But they soon espied two *English* Ships; which obliged them to put into a desert Island, called *Euirn* or *Iffurt*, being about half a Mile long, and as much broad; and is twelve

Miles distant from *Stornway*, and lies a little North of *Scalpay* or *Glass*.

At this Place there were some Fishermen, who, taking the Pr.'s Boat to be a Press-boat belonging to the Men of War, ran away, leaving their Fish, Pots, *&c.* The Fishermen of *Lewis* dry their Fish here upon the Rock; some of which the Pr. and Company found, and was a Feast for them. The Pr. at first, was going to put some Money, whence he took the Fish, as Pay for them; but recollecting, that it would show the Fishermen, that some Person of Note had been there, and might thereby be attended with bad Consequences, he thought proper to put his Money up again into his Pocket.

They staid on this Island till the 10th, lying in a low pitiful Hut, like a Hog-sty, belonging to the Fishermen; so ill roofed, that they were obliged to spread the Boat's Sail over the Top of it, and lie upon the bare Floor; keeping Watch by turns.

About Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, on the 10th of *May*, they embarked for the *Harris*, taking about two Dozen of Fish with them, and got to *Scalpay* or *Glass* to their hospitable Farmer's again; and, in that Place, offered Money to some Men for a Boat, it being safer and better than that which they had; but the Men rejected the Offer.

No Wind serving, they thence were obliged to

row: But, about Break of Day on the 11th, the Wind rising, they hoisted Sail, and, wanting Food, made Drammack (in *Erse* Stappack) with salt Water mixed with Meal; of which the Pr. ate heartily. The Pr. then called for a Bottle of Brandy, and gave a Dram to each Person.

Soon after this they were chased by an *English* Ship commanded by Capt. *Ferguson*, but made their Escape among the Rocks at the Point of *Roudil*, in the *Harris*, in *Macleod*'s Country. The Ship followed them three Leagues. They then kept close on Shore, and sailed to *Lochmaddy* to the South of *Uist*; thence to *Lochniskiway* in *Benbecula*; and thence to an Island in that Loch called *Loch-Escaby*, where they arrived about Four in the Afternoon.

In this Voyage they were within two Musket-shot of the Ship before they saw her at *Finslay* in the *Harris:* They were to the Windward, and the Ship was in the Mouth of the Bay; so they made all the Haste they could to the Coast of *Benbecula.*

In this Course they saw another Ship in *Loch-maddy* in *North-Uist.* They had scarce got on Shore when the Wind very remarkably turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, and drove the Ships that were pursuing quite off. At this the Pr. said, "I see Providence will not "let me be taken alive this Time."

It being low Water, one of the Boatment went

among the Rocks, and catched a Partan*, which he held up to show to the Pr. in great Joy. The Pr. then took up a Cog † in his hand, and, running to the boatman, desired to partake of his Diversion, and they soon filled the Cog.

There was no House, Cottage or Hut nearer than two Miles, and that only a poor Hut; whither they resolved to go.

When they set out, the Pr. took up the Cog full of Partans, and marched away with it: But the faithful *Donald Macleod* soon ran after him, and desired Leave to carry it; but the Pr. would not let him, saying, "If I carry this, *Donald*, "then every one of the Company will take more "or less of our small Baggage, and so it will be "more equally divided amongst us; therefore I'll "not part with this." And accordingly he carried it.

When they came to the Hut, it was so low that they were obliged to creep into it upon their Hands and Knees: Wherefore *Edward Burk* was ordered to dig Part of the Ground away to make it easier to get into it.

At this Hut the Laird of *Clanranald* went to pay his Respects to the Pr. and promised him all the Assistance he could give him to get him safe out of the Kingdom: Towards which his Lady afterwards assisted; for she sent the Pr. six good Shirts, some Brandy and Wine, and every Thing

* A Crab-fish. † A Wooden Pail.

else that was necessary and comfortable; as we shall see in the Sequel.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that the Pr. should remove from this nasty Hut, and go sixteen Miles farther into the Country, as far as the Mountain of *Curradale* or *Coradale*, in *South-Uist*, and there wait till Fortune would be more favourable; having first sent *Donald Macleod*, in *Campbell's* Boat, to the Continent of *Scotland*, with Letters to *Lochiel*, and *John Murray* the Secretary, to know how Affairs stood; and *Donald* was to carry Cash and Brandy back with him to the Pr.

Donald met *Lochiel* and *Murray* at the Head of *Loch-Arkaig*; but got no Money from *Murray*, who said, "He had none to give, having only sixty Louis-d'ors for himself."

Donald, having received his Letters from *Lochiel* and *Murray* for the Pr. purchased two Ankers of Brandy, at one Guinea each, with much Difficulty. "At this Time (says *Donald*) the Pr. looked upon *Murray* to have been one of "his honest firm Friends: But, alas! how he "was mistaken!"

Donald immediately returned, and found the Pr. at *Coradale* where he left him, having been eighteen Days upon this Expedition; but found him in a better Hut, and having two Cow-hides placed upon four Sticks, to prevent the Rain from falling upon him when asleep. During

Macleod's Absence, the Pr. diverted and supported himself and Company with Hunting, Shooting and Fishing; for he used often to go down to the Foot of the Hill upon the Shore, and there go on board a small Boat, which was rowed a little Way, and then with Hand-lines catched Lyths, somewhat like a young Cod. The Pr. also used to shoot Deer and other Game.

It is surprising to think that the Pr. could be kept safe above three Weeks in such a Place, when upwards of an hundred People knew where he was, and his Enemies were daily out upon the Scout on all Sides. Both *Clanranald* and his Brother *Boisdale* saw the Pr. at *Coradale*.

The Militia about this Time went to the Island of *Eriska*, lying between the Islands of *Barra* and *South-Uist*, which is about three Miles long and one broad, and is the very first *British* Ground the Pr. landed at. The Militia, I say, being got thither, obliged the Pr. and Company to think of parting, and shifting their Quarters.

On the 14th of *June*, the Pr. *Oneille*, *Sullivan*, *Edward Burk*, and his Pilot *Donald Macleod*, sailed from the Foot of *Coradale* in *Campbell*'s Boat, and landed in *Ouia* or *Fovaya*, an Island lying between *South-Uist* and *Benbecula*.

Here they staid four Nights; and, on the 18th, the Pr. *Oneille*, and a Guide, went to *Rossinish*, and *Sullivan* and *Macleod* were left in *Ouia*. Here the Pr. staid two Nights; and then received

Information, that the Militia were coming towards *Benbecula*. On this he found it necessary to get back again to the Foot of *Coradale*; but he scarce knew what to do, as the Militia-boats had been some Time between *Ouia* and *Rossinish*. *Donald Macleod* and *Sullivan*, hearing of this, set sail in the Night, and brought the Pr. from *Rossinish* to *Coradale* again: But, meeting with a violent Storm and heavy Rain, they were forced into *Uishness* Point, two Miles and a half North of *Coradale*, called *Achkirside-allich*, a Rock upon the Shore; in a Cleft of which they took up their Quarters. This Storm lasted a whole Day.

At night, finding their Enemies within two Miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at *Celiestiella*; from whence they steered towards *Loch-Boisdale*; when one on board swore there was a Long boat before them in their Way, and no doubt full of Marines; so would go no farther; although *Donald Macleod* was positive of the contrary, assuring them, that it was nothing but a little Rock in the Water, which he knew very well, and which had the Appearance of a Boat at a Distance. But yet the Sailors would not believe him. So they returned back again to *Celiestiella*, and staid there that Night; and next Day got to *Loch-Boisdale*; where they got the disagreeable News of *Boisdale's* being made a Prisoner, &c. When they first set out from *Coradale* for *Loch-Boisdale*, they espied three Sail

within Cannon-shot of the Shore, by Break of Day; and therefore were obliged to return back again to *Celiestiella*, in *South-Uist*.

One Day, as the Pr. was sailing up and down *Loch Boisdale*, *Donald Macleod* asked the Pr. "If he once got the *C———n*, what would he "do with *Sir Alexander Macdonald* and the Laird "of *Macleod?*"—"Oh *Donald!* (said the Pr.) "are they not our own People still, let them do "whatever they will? It is not to be imputed as "their Fault what they have done; but it is "altogether owing to the Power President *Forbes* "has over their Judgments in these Matters. "Besides, (continues he), if ever the K— was "r———d, we should be as sure of them for "Friends as any other whomsoever, they being for "those in Power. I blame indeed (says the Pr.) "young *Macleod* much more than his Father; "for he was introduced to me in *France*, and "solemnly promised me all the Service in his "Power; but, when put to the Trial, did not "perform the least Tittle of it."

While they were here, *Donald Macleod* espied two Sail, which he took for *French* Ships, but, they proved to be *English* Men of War; which however gave them no trouble.

Here the Pr. rested some Days, and found himself in a most dreadful Situation; for he had got Intelligence, that Captain *Caroline Scot* had landed at *Kilbride*, within less than two Miles of

him. This obliged the Pr. to part from his constant Attendants, *Sullivan*, his faithful Pilot *Donald Macleod*, and his Guide *Edward Burk*, and all the Boat's Crew; keeping only *Oneille:* And two Shirts was all their Baggage.

When he parted with *Donald Macleod*, it was with a full Resolution to meet again at a certain Place, but by different Roads. *Donald* then went South about; but all the Men left him, except one: Upon which he was obliged to sink the Boat, and shift as well as he could for himself.

The others, after parting with the Pr. staid in the Field two Nights, having only the Sails of the Boat for a Cover. On the third Night, they went farther into the Loch, and rested thereabouts for other two Nights; when they got Sight of some of the Red-coats; which then forced them to the North-side of the Loch.

On the 5th of *July*, *Donald Macleod* was taken Prisoner by *Allan Madonald* of *Knock* in *Sleat*, in the Isle of *Sky*, a Lieutenant; who, at the same Time, took Mr. *Macdonald* of the Family of *Glenaladale*, and Mr. *Forrest* a *Romish* Priest.

They were carried from Place to Place, and at last to *Applecross* Bay, opposite to the Isle of *Sky*; and there put on board the *Furnace*, Capt. *Ferguson*. *Donald Macleod* was immediately carried into the Cabbin, to Gen. *Campbell*; who examined him very circumstantially.

The General asked him, "If he had been along

"with the young Pretender?"—"Yes, (said "*Donald*), I winna deny it."—"Do you know "(said the General) what Money was upon that "Gentleman's Head? No less than 30,000*l.* "*Sterling*; which would have made you and your "Family happy for ever."—"What then? (replied "*Donald*), what though I had gotten it? I could "not have enjoyed it for two Days; Conscience "would have gotten the better of me: And "although I could have gotten all *England* and "*Scotland* for my Pains, I would not have allowed "a Hair of his Body to be touched, if I could "hinder it; since he threw himself under my "Care." The General said, "He could not "much blame him;" or Words to that Effect.

Donald was conveyed on Ship-board to *Tilbury* Fort, and thence removed to *London*; and at last was discharged out of a Messenger's Hands (where he had been a little Time) on the 10th of *June* 1747; which he said he would ever after celebrate as the Day of his Deliverance.

Edward Burk, after parting from the Pr. went over *North-Strand* to *North-Uist*, his native Country; where he skulked in a Hill called *Eval*, for near seven Weeks; twenty Days of which he had not any Meat, except Dilse and Lampocks*. About this Time a Paper had been read in all the Kirks, strictly forbidding all Persons to give so-

* A Kind of Shell-fish.

much as a Mouthful of Meat to any Rebel, upon Penalty of making them suffer very severely.—Thus the Place appointed to preach the Doctrine of *Christ*, was prostituted to prevent any Person from feeding the Hungry, or clothing the Naked, *&c.*

After various Distresses, occasioned chiefly by this Order, he at last was obliged to hide himself in a Cave, in *North-Uist*; where he was fed by a Shoemaker's Wife in the Night; and, after various Troubles, is now safe, and carries a Chair at *Edinburgh*; not being excepted in the general Act of Grace.

Donald Macleod says, "That the Pr. never "slept above three or four Hours at a time; and "in the Morning called for a Chopin [a Quart] of "Water, which he drank off at once; first instill-"ing a few Drops out of a little Bottle; which "indeed he did, into every thing that he drank."

Thus far, Reader, this Account is taken from the Journals and from the Mouths of both Donald Macleod *and* Edward Burk *in* Scotland; *which, after it was wrote down, was read to them, and acknowledged to be true and just.*

The Pr. having only *Oneille* with him, now retired to the Mountains; where he lay that Night, being *June* 18th; and next Day he received Information, that Gen. *Campbell* was at *Bernera*, an Island about two Miles long and one broad, lying between *North-Uist* and the *Harris*, and belongs to the *Macleods*.

The Pr. had now military Forces on both the Land Sides of him, and the Sea on the others, without any Kind of Vessel to venture to Sea in securely.

In this Perplexity, Capt. *Oneille* thought proper to apply to a young Lady called *Flora Macdonald*; who was gone to her Brother's at *Milton*, in *South-Uist*, from the Isle of *Sky*, to make him a Visit. Here *Oneille*, having some little Acquaintance with this young Lady, proposed to her to assist the Pr. to escape from thence.

Miss *Flora Macdonald* is daughter of —— *Macdonald* of *Milton*, in the Island of *Uist*, descended from *Clanranald*'s Family. Her Father died when she was but one Year old, and left one Son and her. Her Mother married again to one *Hugh Macdonald* of *Armadale*, in the Isle of *Sky*; and has by him two Sons, and two Daughters. This Gentleman is esteemed the strongest Man of the Name of *Macdonald*.

Miss *Flora* is about twenty four Years of Age, of a middle Stature, well shaped, a very pretty agreeable Person, of great Sprightliness in her Looks; and abounds with good Sense, Modesty, Good-nature and Humanity.

Oneille desired this Lady to go along with him to the Pr. and to concert with him, what would be the best to be done. She objected very much at first, for Reasons which she offered. But *Oneille* convincing her, that the Pr.'s Situation would not

admit, either of his going to her, or of any long Delay; she then at last complied: And taking her faithful Servant *Neil Mackechan*, originally *Maclean*, with her, she accompanied the Captain to the Pr. where everything necessary was concerted, and Miss promised to use her utmost to put the Scheme in execution, provided another Method failed, which she then contrived for them: And then she returned to *Milton* again. *Oneille* promised to get about what she had proposed immediately, and to let Miss *Macdonald* know the Answer. *Oneille* tried; but could not bring the other Scheme to bear: So he then went to *Milton*, to acquaint Miss *Macdonald* therewith; who ordered him to return back to the Pr. with a Message.

Pursuant to the Plan laid down, Miss *Flora* set forwards on *Saturday*, *June* 21. for *Clanranald*'s House, to get Things necessary for the Pr.'s Disguise, *&c.* In going to cross one of the Fords, she and her Man *Neil Mackechan* were taken Prisoners by a Party of Militia, because they had no Passports. She demanded to see their Officer: But, being told he would not be there till next Morning, she asked what his Name was; and then finding he was her Stepfather, she chose to stay there all Night till he should arrive next Day, rather than answer their Questions: So she was carried into the Guard-room, and kept Prisoner till relieved by her Father-in-law; who arrived in

the Forenoon on *Sunday*, *June* 22. and was not a little surprised to see Miss *Flora* in Custody.

Miss *Macdonald* took him aside, and told him what she was about; and desired a Passport for herself, her Man *Mackechan*, and for one *Betty Burk*, a Woman who was a good Spinner; and, as her Mother had a great Quantity of Lint to spin, she also desired a Letter to recommend *Betty Burk* to her: All which her Father-in-law consented to. And then Miss proceeded on her Journey to *Clanranald*'s House, where she acquainted Lady *Clanranald* with the Design, who was ready to give all the Assistance in her Power.

Here Miss staid till *Friday* the 27th; during which Time, *Oneille* passed and repassed several times with Messages betwixt the Pr. Lady *Clanranald*, and Miss *Flora*.

The Time appointed being come, Lady *Clanranald*, another *Macdonald*, Miss *Flora*, and her Man *Mackechan*, conducted by *Oneille*, all went to where the Pr. was, at eight Miles Distance; and carried with them the Pr.'s new Dress, and some other things, to serve him in his Voyage; particularly, a Part of a Bottle of White Wine, being all that the military People had left *Clanranald*. This the Pr. took especial care off, and would not taste one Drop of it, but preserved it for his female Guide.

When they arrived there, the Pr. was in a little Hut or House, assisting in the roasting his

Dinner, which was composed of the Heart, Liver and Kidneys of a Sheep, or Bullock, upon a wooden Spit.

Oneille introduced the Pr.'s Visitors to him; where they dined; and, at Table, the Pr. placed Miss *Flora* on the right, and Lady *Clanranald* on his left Hand; and all the Company ate very heartily.

Next Morning they heard of Gen. *Campbell*'s Arrival at *Benbecula:* And soon after, a Servant came in a great Hurry to Lady *Clanranald*, and acquainted her, "That Captain *Ferguson*, with "an advanced Party of the *Campbells* Men, were "at her House; and that the Captain lay in her "Bed last Night."

This obliged her to return immediately: So, after taking Leave of the Pr. she set forward to her own House; where she was scarce arrived, before *Ferguson* began to examine her very strictly. "Where have you been?" says he. She replied, "To see a Child that has been sick, "but is now better again." The Captain asked many more Questions, such as, "Where the "Child lived? How far it was off from thence, "*&c.*" Lady *Clanranald* was taken Prisoner soon after, and put on board a Man of War; and her Husband was taken, and put on board another, and conveyed to the *Thames*; where, after lying some time, they were carried up to *London*; and detained there, in Custody of a

Messenger; the first, at Mr. *Money*'s; and the latter was, on the 1st of *November*, taken into the Custody of Mr. *William Dick*, along with his Brother of *Boisdale*, Capt. *Malcom Macleod*, and *Roger Macneal* of *Barra*, Esq; In *June* following, both he and his Lady were dismissed without being asked a Question. At the same time, Mr. *Dick* brought, from on board of a Ship, *John Gordon*, Esq; eldest Son of the famous *Glenbucket*, who was accused of reviewing his Father's Troops, although by the Help of Dr. *T——r*, he had been quite blind six Years before. He was also discharged in *June* following, without being asked any Questions.

Lady *Clanranald* and the other *Macdonald* being gone, Miss told the Pr. to prepare, for it was time to go. On which *Oneille* begged hard to go with them: But Miss *Flora* would on no account consent: because there would be too many of them together, and they might therefore be the more taken notice of. So the Pr. and he took leave of each other in an affectionate Manner.

The Company being gone, Miss *Macdonald* desired the Pr. to put on his new Attire; which was soon done: And, at a proper Time, they removed their Quarters, and went near the Water-side, where their Boat was nigh at hand afloat, to be ready to embark in, in case of any sudden Attack from the Shore

Here they arrived in a very wet Condition; and made a Fire upon a Piece of Rock, to keep themselves warm till Night. They had not been there long, before they were alarmed by four Wherries full of armed Men, approaching towards the Shore. At this Sight they extinguished their Fire as fast as they could, and concealed themselves in the Heather*. Their Fears on this account were however soon over; for the Wherries sailed by, to the Southward, within Gunshot of where they lay, without ever stopping.

On the 28th of *June*, about Eight o'Clock in the Evening, they set out in very clear Weather; but had not been gone above a League, before the Sea became very rough, and at last tempestuous. The Pr. finding Miss and the Sailors begin to be uneasy at their Situation, sung them several Songs; among the rest an old Song made many Years ago on Occasion of K. *Charles*'s Restoration. By this, and some merry Stories, the Pr. kept up their Spirits very well.

Next Morning the Boatmen knew not where they were, having no Compass, and the Wind varying several times in the Night, though it was then again calm. At last however they made the Point of *Waternish*, in the west Corner of *Sky*; where they soon tried to land; but found the

*Heath.

Place possessed by a Body of Forces, who had also three Boats or Yawls near the Shore. A Man on board one of these Boats fired at the Pr. and Company, to make them bring to; but they rowed away as fast as they could, being all the Chance they had to escape, because there were several Men of War within Sight; which would inevitably have followed, had it not been providentially very calm, and the Ships were at some Distance. The Militia in the three Boats, for want or Oars, could not pursue; but however they sent up to alarm the People in a little Town not far off. Notwithstanding the Storm, Miss *Macdonald* was so fatigued, that she fell asleep in the Bottom of the Boat. The Pr. observing it, sat close by her, and watched lest anything should fall upon her, or that any of the Boatmen in the dark should step upon her: But the Sea was so rough she could not sleep long.

They got safe into a Creek, or Cliff in a Rock; and there remained to rest the Men, who had been all Night at Work; and, at the same time, to get some Refreshment. However, as soon as they could, they set forwards again, lest the Alarm given to the Village, should bring down the People upon them: Which would have been the Case had they staid; for they had not gone far, before they observed the People approaching to the Place they had so lately left.

From this Place they went, and landed at

Kilbride in *Troternish* in the Isle of *Sky*, about twelve Miles North from the above mentioned Point. In this Neighbourhood there were also several Militia in Search of the Pr. whose commanding Officer, Lieutenant *Macleod*, was at Sir *Alexander Macdonald*'s, the very House Miss *Flora* was going to; but she did not know the Officer was there till she saw him.

At the Boat here Miss *Macdonald* left the Pr. and went with her Servant to *Mouggestot*, the Seat of Sir *Alexander Macdonald*; but he was not at home, being then with the Duke of *Cumberland*. Miss sent into the Room to Lady *Margaret*, Sir *Alexander*'s Lady, to let her know she was come; Miss having before apprised my Lady of her errand, by one Mrs. *Macdonald*, who went a little before Miss *Flora* for that Purpose.

Miss was soon introduced into the Room where the Company were; amongst whom was the Commanding Officer of the Forces in that Neighbourhood; who, after some Time, asked Miss, "Whence she came? Which Route she was going? "And what News she heard, *&c.*" All which she answered as she thought proper, and very readily: So that he had not the least Suspicion, at that Time, of what Miss was about, especially as he saw when she went away, that she had only one Servant with her, who, he was certain, could not be the Pr.

Miss *Macdonald*, having told Lady *Margaret*,

where she had left the Pr. and the Situation he was in, my Lady was at a loss what to do; but, as Mr. *Macdonald* of *Kingsborough*, Sir *Alexander*'s Steward or Factor, was in the House, she applied to him, and desired he would conduct the Pr. to *Kingsborough*; which he readily complied with, and sent a Boy down to the Boat, with Instructions to shew the Pr. to a Place about a Mile distant from the Boat; whither he himself would go, and be there ready to attend the Pr. The Boy went off directly; and *Kingsborough*, taking some Wine and other Refreshment for the Pr. soon after set out for the Place of Rendezvous; leaving Miss *Flora* with Lady *Margaret*.

When Miss *Flora* thought the Pr. and *Kingsborough* might be got to some Distance, she then made a Motion to go, and ordered her Horses out directly. But Lady *Margaret* pressed her strongly before the Officer to stay, telling her at the same Time, "That she (Miss *Flora*) had promised to "stay the next Time she came, when she was last "there." But Miss begged her Ladyship to excuse her this one Time; "because (says she) I "have been some time away, and my Mother is "not very well, and entirely alone in these "troublesome Times." At last Lady *Margaret* excused her; but only upon renewing her former Promise, to make Amends the next Time she went thither; which Miss very willingly complied with.

Every thing being ready, Miss *Flora* and her

Servant, Mrs. *Macdonald* aforementioned, and her Servant and Maid, all set forwards. They had not gone far before they overtook the Pr. and *Kingsborough*. Mrs. *Macdonald* was very desirous of seeing the Pr.'s Face; which he as carefully avoided, by turning it to the opposite Side: But, however, she had several Opportunities of seeing it, as much as he was disguised.

Mrs. *Macdonala*'s Maid could not keep her Eyes off the Pr. and said to Miss *Flora*, "I think "I never saw such an impudent-looking Woman "as *Kingsborough* is walking with. I dare say "she is either an *Irish* Woman, or a Man in "Womens Cloaths." Miss *Macdonald* replied, "She was an *Irish* Woman; for she knew her, "having seen her before."—"Bless me, (quoth "the Maid), what long Strides the Jade takes! "and how aukwardly she manages her Petti-"coats! *&c.*"

Miss *Macdonald* not liking the Maid's Observations, and knowing they were near the Place where the Pr. and *Kingsborough* were to turn out of the common Road, and that it was not proper to let Mrs. *Macdonald*'s Man and Maid Servant see which Route the Pr. and *Kingsborough* took; she therefore called out to Mrs. *Macdonald* to ride faster; "for (says she) we shall be late out." This was complied with; and they soon lost Sight of the two on Foot; who, presently after, turned out of the common Road, to avoid the Militia, and

went over the Hills S. S. E. till they arrived at *Kingsborough*'s House, which was about Eleven o'Clock at Night, on *Sunday*, *June* 29. in a very wet Condition, having had much Rain, and having walked seven long Miles. Miss *Macdonald* arrived about the same Time along the Highway, having parted with Mrs. *Macdonald*, her Servant and Maid.

Oneille, after parting from Miss *Macdonald*, went and met *Sullivan*, who was yet upon the Island; when, about two Days after the Pr. and *Oneille* had parted, a *French* Cutter, having 120 Men on board, went to the Isle of *South-Uist*, intending to carry off the Pr. who they were informed was there. *Sullivan* went immediately on board; while *Oneille* went to seek for the Pr. hoping he might meet with him before he and Miss *Macdonald* should leave the Island. But *Oneille* finding the Pr. had left the Island two Days before, returned to the Place where he had left the Cutter. But, unhappily for him, the Vessel was gone about three Hours before: For the timorous *Sullivan*, having a fair Wind, had not Courage to stay, and try to save the Pr. and *Oneille*; but set sail directly, lest he should be taken, and lose his precious Life. There was two small Wherries, just within Sight; which might indeed, in some measure, excuse *Sullivan*'s Hurry. Both the Wherries were filled with thirty armed Men, which were sent out by an *English* Officer after this very Cutter; but could not get near her.

Oneille was soon after taken Prisoner: But, being a foreign Officer, was only a Prisoner of War. He was put on board a Man of War; where, in a little Time after, he saw Miss *Macdonald* a Prisoner also, for doing what he had been the Instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and, after some Time, sent home according to the Cartel. But to return:

When the Pr. got to *Kingsborough*'s House, the Lady *Kingsborough*, not expecting her Husband home after that Time of the Night, was undressed, and just going into Bed; when one of her Maid-servants went up and told her, "That *Kingsbo-* "*rough* was returned, and had brought some "Company with him."—"What Company (says "the Lady)?"—"*Milton*'s Daughter, I believe, "(says the Maid), and some Company with her." —"*Milton*'s Daughter (replied Mrs. *Macdonald*) "is very welcome here, with any Company she "pleases to bring; but make my Compliments to "her, and tell her to be free with any thing in the "House; for I am sleepy and undressed; so I "can't see her To-night."

In a short Time, *Kingsborough*'s Daughter went up in as great Hurry as Surprise, crying out, "Mamma! Mamma! my Father has brought "hither a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up Wife*

* Tall, tawdry Hussy.

" as ever I saw; nay, and has taken her into the " Hall too."

She had scarce said this before *Kingsborough* himself went into the Room, and desired his Wife to dress again as fast as she could, and get such Meat as they had ready for Supper.—" Who have " you with you, (says Mrs. *Macdonald*)?"—" You " shall know that (replied he) in good Time; only " make haste."

Mrs. *Macdonald* then desired her Daughter to go and fetch the Keys which she had left in the Hall. The Girl went, and soon ran back again in a great Hurry, and said, " Mamma! Mamma! I " can't go in for the Keys; because the muckle " Woman is walking up and down the Hall, and " I am afraid of her, [meaning the Pr.]." Mrs. *Macdonald* then went herself, but "was so frighten- " ed (as she said) at seeing sick a muckle Trollop " of a Carling make sick lang Strides through the " Hall, that she did not like her Appearance;" and then she desired her Husband to fetch them; but he would not: So she was obliged at last to go herself.

When she went into the Room, the Pr. was sitting; but got up immediately, and saluted her. Mrs. *Macdonald* then began to tremble, having found a rough Beard, imagining it was some distress- ed Nobleman or Gentleman in Disguise; but never dreamed it was the Pr. She therefore went directly out of the Room, with the Keys in her

Hand, to her Husband, without saying one Word to the Pr. and greatly importuned *Kingsborough* to tell her who it was; and if he [meaning the Person in Disguise] could tell any Thing of what was become of the Pr. *Kingsborough* smiled at her naming the Beard, and told her, "My Dear, "it is the Pr."—"The Pr.! (cried she); then we "are a' ruined; we will a' be hanged now."—"Houte, (cried he), we will die but once; and, "if we are hanged, for this, we die in a *good* "*Cause*, doing only an Act of Humanity and "Charity. But go make haste with Supper; "bring us Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and whatever "else is ready." "Eggs, Butter, Cheese! "(quoth she), what a Supper is that for a Prince!" "Oh Wife! (replied he), you little know how "this good Pr. has lived of late; this will be a "Feast to him: Besides, to make a formal Sup- "per, would make the Servants suspect some- "thing; the less Ceremony therefore the better; "make haste, and come to Supper yourself."—"I "come to Supper! (says she), I know not how to "behave before Maj—y."—"You must come, "(replied *Kingsborough*); for the Pr. will not eat "one Bit without you; and you'll find it no diffi- "cult Matter to behave before him, so obliging "and easy is he in his Conversation."

I hope the Reader will excuse me for giving this Dialogue in their own Words; not being able to give a better Idea of the Figure the Pr. must

have made, and of the Distress he was in, than in their own Way of expressing their Meaning.

At Supper, the Pr. placed Miss *Flora* at his right Hand, (always paying her the greatest Respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the Room), and Mrs. *Macdonald* at his left. He made a plentiful Supper; eating four Eggs, some Collops, Bread and Butter; drank two Bottles of small Beer at Supper; and then, calling for a Bumper of Brandy, he drank Health and Prosperity to his Landlord and Landlady; and, after Supper, smoked a Pipe. Having been so much afflicted with the Toothach in his Wanderings, he was obliged to smoke, to obtain some Mitigation of his Pain; and he was often obliged to use the same Pipe, till it was as black as Ink, and worn or broken to the very Stump. After drinking a few Glasses of Wine, and finishing his Pipe, the Pr. went to Bed.

When the Pr. and *Kingsborough* were going from *Mouggestot* to *Kingsborough*, the Pr. said, "he proposed going to the Laird of *Macleod*'s, as "being a Place the Government-people would "not suspect." But *Kingsborough* would not agree to that; and gave some of his Reasons to support his Opinion. "What! (says the Pr.), do "you think that *Macleod*, to his former Doings, "would add that of thirsting after my Blood?"— "I am not certain of that, (replied *Kingsborough*), "but I have received a Letter from the Laird of

" *Macleod*; wherein he desires me to deliver you " up, if you should fall into my Way; and said, " I should thereby do a great Service to my " Country." The Pr. therefore soon dropt that Project. Some time after this, the Laird of *Macleod* asked *Kingsborough* for this Letter again: But *Kingsborough* absolutely refused to give it to him; and farther said, " He would keep THAT, " to shew what Part *Macleod* acted, under *Mac-* " *leod*'s own Hand."

Kingsborough, amongst other Things, asked the Pr. " If he looked upon Lord *George Murray* to " have acted a treacherous Part?" and he replied, " He believed not."

Kingsborough also said to the Pr. " That he " [*Kingsborough*] could not conceive what it was " that made him go that Day to *Mouggestot*, [Sir " *Alexander*'s House]; for he had no manner of " Business there, nor owed any Visit."—" I'll tell " you, (said the Pr.), you could not avoid going; " for I have been the particular Care of Provi- " dence, which sent you thither on my Account, " there being no Person else who could assist me."

Both *Kingsborough*, his Wife, and Miss *Flora Macdonald*, were particularly asked, Whether the Pr. had the Itch, as some of the Scribblers gave out? And they all declared, they never saw a Person freer from it, not having a Spot to be seen; which they wondered at, consi ering what he had undergone.

After the Pr. was gone to bed, Mrs. *Macdonald* desired Miss *Flora* to relate the Pr.'s Adventures as far as she knew of them; which she did: And, when she had concluded her Story, Mrs. *Macdonald* asked her, "What was become of the "Boatmen who brought them to that Island?" Miss replied, "They went back again directly for "*South-Uist.*"—"That was wrong, (says Mrs. "*Macdonald*); for you should have kept them "on this Side, for some time at least, till the Pr. "could have got farther from his Pursuers."

As Mrs. *Macdonald* conjectured, so it proved: For the Boatmen were immediately seized on their Return; and, being threatened with the Torture, or Death, (both which are absolutely against our Law, but is what we must expect when ruled by those we pay); by these Threats and Torture, I say, the Men revealed all they knew; and gave a Description of the Gown, being a Linen or Cotton Gown, with purple Sprigs thickly stamped, and a white Apron. This Thought of Mrs. *Macdonald* determined Miss *Flora* to desire the Pr. to change his Dress, as we shall find presently he did; being himself not willing to march any farther in that Dress, having found it too troublesome the Day before.

This great Feast which the Pr. had got, being the most material Refreshment he had met with for a long Time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten Hours without Interruption;

whereas commonly he seldom required above three or four Hours Rest.

Morning being come and far advanced, Miss *Macdonald* began to be afraid, lest the Pr. lying too long, should give his Enemies Time to overtake him ; and therefore desired *Kingslorough* to go into his Room, and call him up ; who, with much Persuasion, went : But, finding the Pr. in so sound a Sleep, would not awaken him ; and so retired quietly out of the Room again. But, every thing being soon after ready for his Journey, Miss *Macdonald* insisted, that *Kingsborough* should call him up ; with which he complied : And, having awakened the Pr. asked him how he had rested. And the Pr. replied, " Never better in " my Life ; for I have not slept in a Bed a long " time before this."

Although the Pr. was to change his Dress, it was thought necessary to leave the House in the same Habit he arrived ; because, in case of a pursuit, it would prevent the Servants from describing the Dress he was to travel in.

When the Pr. had dressed himself, except his Head, the Ladies went into his Chamber to pin his Cap, put on his Apron, and to dress his Head. Before Miss put on the Cap, Mrs. *Macdonald* desired her in *Erse*, o ask the Pr. for a Lock of his Hair ; which Miss refused to do, saying, " Can't you ask him yourself ? " The Pr. finding they were disputing about something, desired to

know what it was; and then Mrs. *Macdonald* told him her Request, which he immediately granted; and, laying his Head on Miss *Flora*'s Lap, bade her cut off a Lock; which she did, and gave Mrs. *Macdonald* one Half, and kept the other herself.

The Pr. being dressed, got his Breakfast, took his leave of his Landlady, and then he and *Kingsborough*, with a Bundle of highland Cloaths under his Arm, went to a Wood-side not far from *Kingsborough*; and there changed his Dress. This being done, the Pr. embraced *Kingsborough* in his Arms, and bade him a long and happy Adieu; and, in a most affectionate Manner, thanked him for his Services; and assured him he would never forget them. They both wept; and a few Drops of Blood fell from the Pr.'s Nose. *Kingsborough* then sent a Guide with the Pr. to *Portree* or *Purtree*, that is, in *Erse*, *Port-Ree*, *King's-Port*, through all the By-ways; while Miss *Flora* went on Horseback by another Road, thereby the better to gain Intelligence, and to prevent a Discovery. This Place is seven long Miles from *Kingsborough*. —The Gown the Pr. had on, was a Linen, or Cotton, having a white Ground, with Purple-coloured Flowers.*

* Mr. *Stewart Carmichael*, near *Leith*, had a Stamp made exactly after this Pattern; and has sold great Numbers, so exactly done as not to be distinguished from the Original even by Miss *Macdonald* herself.

Kingsborough had sent a Person before, to procure a Boat, and every thing else necessary towards the Pr.'s Escape. The Pr. being arrived safe here again met his female Preservatrix; and this was the last time they saw each other. The Pr. and Miss *Macdonald* were both very wet; and staid no longer there, than to dry their Cloaths, and to get such little Refreshment as the Place afforded; which took up about two hours Time: And then the Pr. took leave of Miss *Flora Macdonald*, returning her his sincere Thanks for her kind Assistance; and greatly lamented, that he had not a *Macdonald* to go on with him to the End.

According to my Method hitherto, I must give the Reader the remaining History of *Kingsborough* and Miss *Macdonald*, before I go any farther with the Pr.

About six or eight Days after the Pr. left *Sky*, Captain *Ferguson* followed him in hot Pursuit. And, from the Boatmen who were taken at, or in their Return to *South-Uist*, having got an exact Description of the Gown and Dress the Pr. had on, pursued to Sir *Alexander Macdonald*'s House, and there searched very strictly; and, hearing only of Miss *Flora Macdonald*, went to *Kingsborough*; and there examined Mr. and Mrs. *Macdonald*, and Mrs. *Anne Macalaster* their Daughter.

The Captain first found *Kingsborough*; and asked him several Questions, some of which he answered, and others he either could or would not

answer; and told the Captain he had better ask Mrs. *Macdonald*, who could give proper Answers. *Kingsborough* accordingly called Mrs. *Macdonald*; and said, "That Captain *Ferguson* was come to "ask her some Questions about her late Guests." "—"If *Ferguson* (says she) is to be my Judge, "then God have mercy on my Soul." *Ferguson* asked her why she said so? She replied, "Be- "cause the whole World say you are a very cruel, "hard-hearted Man: And indeed I don't like to "go through your Hands."

Ferguson then asked *Kingsborough*, where Miss *Macdonald*, and the Person in Womens Cloaths who was with her, lay? *Kingsborough* replied, "He knew where Miss *Flora* lay; but as for Ser- "vants, he never asked any Questions about "them."

The Captain then asked Mrs. *Macdonald*, "Whether she laid the Young Pretender and Miss "*Flora* in the same Bed?" To which she answered, "Sir, Whom you mean by the Young "Pretender, I do not pretend to guess: But I can "assure you it is not the Fashion in *Sky*, to lay "the Mistress and Maid in the same Bed to- "gether."—The Captain then desired to see the Rooms wherein each lay; which were shewn: And he then remarked, that the Room the supposed Maid-servant laid in, was better than that wherein the Mistress lay.

Kingsborough was taken Prisoner, and carried

to *Fort-Augustus*; and was there plundered of his Shoe-buckles, Garters, Watch, and Money; and, in a few Hours after, thrown into a Dungeon, heavily loaded with Irons. While he was Prisoner, one of the Captains of the *English* Forces went to him, and asked him, "If he could tell the Pr.'s Head "if he saw it?" *Kingsborough*, trembling at the Thought of the Pr. being murdered, replied, "He "could not engage for that, unless it was joined "to the Body." *Kingsborough* was removed hence to *Edinburgh* Castle, under a strong Guard of *Kingston's* Light Horse; who entered the City with Sound of Trumpet, and Beat of Kettle-drums: A Thing very uncommon in such a Case. He was at first put into the same Room with Major *Macdonald*, Mr. *George Moir* Laird of *Leckie*, Mr. *Thomas Ogilvie*, and Mr. *Samuel Thom*; but was soon after removed into a Room by himself, without being allowed to cross the Threshold; and none were permitted to see him, except the Officer upon Guard, the Serjeant, and Keeper; which last was appointed to attend him as Servant. He was here kept till the Act of Grace; and was then discharged on the 4th of *July* 1747; having been confined a Year, for giving one Night's Lodging to the Pr.

Kingsborough was once discharged, whilst at *Fort-Augustus*, by Mistake, for another of the same Name; but Lord *Albemarle*, finding out the Mistake, soon sent a Party after him, who over-

took him at Sir *Alexander Macdonald*'s, just as he was going to bed. By this means he had an Opportunity of hearing from Sir *Alexander*'s own Mouth, what a Rage a certain *Great Officer* was in, when he found *Kingsborough* a Prisoner at *Fort-Augustus*; what horrid and shocking Oaths and Imprecations he threw out against *Kingsborough*, for not securing the Pr. and swore, "he would have him hanged at any rate." All which Sir *Alexander* was a Witness to.

Miss *Macdonald*, having taken leave of the Pr. left *Portree* immediately, and went to her Mother's at *Sleat*, crossed the Country, and had a very fatiguing journey; but she neither told her Mother, nor any other Person, what Errand she had been about.

One *Macleod* of *Taliskar*, an Officer in one of the independent Companies, desired one of the *Macdonalds*, who lives four Miles from *Sleat*, to send for Miss *Flora*, and examine her about what had happened. Accordingly, about eight or nine Days after Miss *Flora* got home, she received a Message from this *Macdonald* for her to go to his House as soon as she could.

Miss *Flora*, being not a little suspicious of the Design, thought proper to communicate to her Friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do. Upon which they advised her not to go; at least not to go till next Day: But she was resolved to go; and accordingly set out very soon after.

She had not gone far on the Road, before she met her Father-in-law returning home. To him she told every thing that had happened from her leaving him in her Way to *Clanranald*'s House, to that Time; as also what she was then about, and what she intended to say upon Examination.

She had not gone far, after parting from her Father-in-law, before she was taken Prisoner by an Officer and a Party of Soldiers, who were going to her Mother's to search for her. They carried her immediately on board a Ship, without suffering her either to go and get her Cloaths and Linen, or to take leave of her Friends.

She was carried on board the *Furnace*, Capt. *Ferguson*; which put her under terrible Apprehensions, on account of that Captain's reputed Inhumanity and Cruelty, which was spread through the whole Country. But, very lucky for her, Gen. *Campbell* was on board; who gave strict Orders, that Miss should be used with the utmost Civilty and Respect; that she should have a Maid-servant; and that they two should have one of the Lieutenants Cabbins to themselves, forbidding every Person to go into it without her Leave or Consent. This Favour I have heard Miss *Flora* acknowledge many times.

About three Weeks after she was thus a Prisoner, the Ship being very near her Mother's, Gen. *Campbell* permitted her to go on Shore to take leave of her Friends, but yet in Custody of

two Officers and a Party of Soldiers; however she was not to speak anything in *Erse*, nor any thing xcept what the Officers heard. So she staid bout two Hours, and then returned again to the Ship.

When she went from home, and was taken risoner, she, upon her Examination, told, "That "she had seen a great lusty Woman, who came to "the Water-side as she [Miss *Flora*] was going "into the Boat; and told her, that she [the sup- "posed lusty Woman] was a Soldier's Wife, and "was left on the Island without Friends, Meat or "Money, and desired that she [Miss *Flora*] would "give her a Place in the Boat, that she might get "to the Continent of *Scotland* to her Husband; "and that she [Miss *Macdonald*] granted the "Request: And that, when they landed in *Sky*, "she [Miss *Flora*] went directly to Sir *Alexander* "*Macdonald*'s; and the lusty Woman went on "her own Way, thanking her [Miss *Flora*] for the "Favour." This Story Miss at first told: But, when she got to Gen. *Campbell*, she found the Boatmen who had conveyed her to *Sky*, were taken, and had told all they knew of the Matter; therefore she acknowledged and told the whole Truth.

Miss *Macdonald* was removed on board Commodore (now Admiral) *Smith*'s Ship; where she was exceeding well treated, and he was very kind to her: For which, when she was in *London*, she sat for her Picture at his Request.

The Ship on which she was aboard was some time in *Leith* Road: And, from that Time being conveyed from Place to Place, she was at last, on *November* 28. 1746, put on board the *Royal Sovereign*, lying at the *Nore*; whence, on the 6th of *December* following, she was removed to *London*, in Custody of Mr. *William Dick* a Messenger, having been five Months on Ship-board. In this Messenger's Custody she remained till *July* 1747; when she was discharged, without being asked any Questions, and returned to *Edinburgh*

This Relation is taken from the Remainder of Oneille's *Journal, and from the Mouths of* Kingsborough, *his Lady, and Miss* Flora Macdonald.

Having concluded the History of *Kingsborough* and Miss *Macdonald*, I must now return to the Pr. again.

Kingsborough having sent to the Laird of *Rasay*, to desire his Assistance, Capt. *Malcolm Macleod*, (who had been an Officer under the Pr. and was at the Battles of *Falkirk* and *Culloden)*, and *Murdoch Macleod*, third Son of *Rasay*, (who was also at the Battle of *Culloden*, and was there wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket-shot), met the Pr. at *Portree* in the Isle of *Sky*, where Miss *Macdonald* left him. This was on *Monday* Night, *June* 30. when it was very dark; having come in a small Boat that would only contain six or seven Men.

They staid but a little Time after their Arrival;

and then they attended the Pr. to the small Boat, wherein *John Macleod* the young Laird of *Rasay* was waiting, being desirous of seeing what sort of Man the Pr. was. They set out immediately; there being in the Boat only the Pr. Capt. *Malcolm Macleod* his Guide, the young Laird of *Rasay*, and his Brother *Murdoch*, the two Boatmen, *viz. John Mackenzie* and *Donald Macfrier*, who had both been out in the Pr.'s Service; the one a Serjeant, and the other a private Man. Early in the Morning on *July* 1. they arrived safe at *Glam* in *Rasay*, being six Miles.* They staid here two Days and a half, in a mean low Hut; and young *Rasay* brought the Pr. a Lamb and a Kid in the Corner of his Plaid. They were obliged to lie on the bare Ground, having only a little Heath for a Pillow.

There was a Man went into this Island to sell a Roll of Tobacco: But, after he had sold the Tobacco, he continued strolling up and down the Island, in an idle Way, for twelve or fourteen Days, without having any apparent Business; which made the People of the Island suspect he was a Spy.

When the Pr. and *Malcolm* were in the Hut, the Captain saw this very Man approaching towards them. On which *Malcolm* was determined to shoot him through the Head, to prevent his

* But I must advertise the Reader, that all the Miles I have, or may mention in this Account, are *Scots* Miles.

going to tell Tales. "No, *Malcolm*, (says the "Pr. taking hold of him), God forbid that any "innocent Man should suffer by us. If we can "but keep ourselves safe, let us not take that "from any Person, which we can't restore to him "again;" and would not allow the Captain to stir. *Malcolm* had the more Reason to suspect this Man to be a Spy, because this Hut was not near any Road. But however, luckily for the Man, he passed by without ever offering to look into it; which if he had attempted, *Malcolm* was determined to have shot him, in order to preserve themselves.

On *July* 3. the Pr. proposed going to *Troternish* in *Sky*, although it blew very hard, and had no other than the small Boat above mentioned; and accordingly set forward about Seven o'Clock in the Evening, having the same Company to attend him.

They had not gone far before the Wind blew harder; and the Crew begged to return back again. But the Pr. encouraged them; and told them, "That as Providence had carried him "through so many Dangers, he did not doubt of "the same Care as before:" And then sang them a merry Highland Song. The Waves washed very frenquently into the Boat, and *Malcolm* was sufficiently employed in laving the Water out again.

About Eleven o'Clock at Night they landed at

a Place in the Island of *Sky*, called *Nicholson's Great Rock*, near *Scorobreck* in *Troternish*, being about ten Miles from *Glam* in *Rasay*. When they got to the Rock, it was bad Landing; and the Pr. was the third Man who jumped into the Water, and helped to hale the Boat up to dry Ground.

The Pr. had on a great Riding-coat; which being wet through, and the Rock they were going up being very steep, *Malcolm* desired the Pr. to let him carry it: But he would by no means consent; alledging, "he was as able to carry it as "the Captain." They travelled thus to a Byre* belonging to one Mr. *Nicholson*, about two Miles from *Scorobreck*.

Here the Pr. and Company took up their Quarters; and *Malcolm* would have had the Pr. to put on a drier Shirt, and take some Sleep. He would not change his Shirt; but Sleep at last seized him as he sat. He often started in his Sleep; and, sighing deep, would say, "Ah! poor "*England!* poor *England!*"

The Pr. after some little Time awakened; and, finding *Malcolm* upon the Watch, earnestly desired him to take some Rest; who at that Time would not: But, the Pr. renewing his Request again, the Captain thought, perhaps he might want to say something to the rest of the Company

*A Cow-house.

in private; and therefore the Captain went out for a little Time.

The two Brothers and the Boatmen here left the Pr. and returned; the Pr. promising to meet the younger at *Cammistinnawagg*, another Place in the same Island.

The Pr. and *Malcolm* staid here eight Hours in all, without any kind of Refreshment, not even so much as a Fire to dry their Cloaths with.

On the 4th, about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, they left the Byre; the Captain passing for the Master, and the Pr. for the Man, who always carried the little Baggage, whenever they saw any Person, or came near any Village: And at those Times, whenever he spoke to the Captain, or the Captain to him, he always pulled off his Bonnet.

They marched through the worst Ways in *Europe*, going over Hills, wild Moors and Glens, without halting, till they arrived at *Ellagol*, or rather *Elligh uill*, near to *Killmaree* or *Kilvory* in *Strath*; and near to a Place in some Maps called *Ord*, in the Laird of *Mackinnon*'s Country, and not far from where that Laird lived; having walked twenty four Miles at least.

In their Travelling, the Brandy Bottle was near out, having only one Dram in it; which the Pr. would force *Malcolm* to drink, declaring, "He "wanted none himself;" which *Malcolm* then took, and afterwards hid the Bottle, which he has found since. In their Road, the Pr. said, "Suppose,

"*Malcolm*, we two should meet any body, who "should attempt to kill or take us, what shall we "do?"—"That depends upon their Numbers, "(replied *Malcolm*): For if there be no more than "four of them, I'll engage to manage two."—"And I'll engage to manage the other two,' (said the Pr.)

The Pr. observing to *Malcolm*, that his own [the Pr.'s] Waistcoat was rather too good for a Servant, being a Scarlet Tartan, with a Gold-twist Button, proposed to change with him; which was accordingly done.

As they were approaching near *Strath*, *Mackinnon*'s Country, the Captain suggested to the Pr. that now he was coming to a Country where he would be known, and therefore might be discovered in every Corner of it, as *Mackinnon*'s Men had been out in his Service; and that therefore he must be more disguised. To do which, the Pr. put on a dirty Napkin, and his Bonnet over it; putting his Wig into his Pocket. "But nothing "(says *Malcolm*) could disguise his majestic "Mien and Carriage."

They no sooner were arrived in *Strath*, than they met two of *Mackinnon*'s Men who had been out with them in the Expedition. They stared at the Pr. and soon knew him; and, with lifted-up Hands, they burst into Tears on seeing him in such Distress. The Captain desired they would take care what they did, and compose themselves;

for otherwise they would discover who the Pr. was by their Concern: Which they complied with as well as they could. And then *Malcolm* swearing them to Secrecy, dismissed them; and they proved faithful.

Being come near the Place they proposed going to, *Malcolm* told the Pr. that he had a Sister married to one *John Mackinnon*, a Captain in the Pr.'s Army: And then he advised the Pr. to sit down at a little Distance from the House, whilst he [the Captain] went into the House, and should inquire of his Sister, or her Husband, whether any of their Enemies were in that Neighbourhood in quest of him? and likewise to know, whether he [*Malcolm*] could be safe there with her; telling the Pr. he was still to pass as his Servant *Lewis Caw*.

Malcolm went, and found his Sister at home; but her Husband was out. And, after the usual Compliments at meeting, he told her, "That he "was come to stay some little Time there, pro- "vided there was no Party of the military People "about them, and that he could be safe." She gave a suitable Answer; and then he told her, "He had no Person along with him, except one "*Lewis Caw*, Son of Mr. *Caw* Surgeon in *Crief*, "who had been out in the late Affair, and conse- "quently in the same Situation with himself; and "that he was to pass as *Malcolm*'s Servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and *Lewis Caw*, as the Pr. was called, into the House.

When *Lewis* entered the House with the Baggage on his Back, and the Napkin on his Head, he took off his Bonnet, made a low Bow, and sat at a Distance from his Master. But the Captain's Sister could not help looking at *Lewis*, observing something very uncommon about him.

The Captain desired his Sister to give them some Provisions; for he was almost famished with Hunger. The Provisions were soon set out. And then the Captain called to *poor sick Lewis*, to draw near, and eat with him, as there was no Company in the House. *Lewis* seemed very backward, alledging he knew better Manners. But, his Master ordering him again, he obeyed, and drew nearer; but still kept off his Bonnet.

After having got some Refreshment, the Captain desired the Maid-servant to wash his Feet; which being done, he desired her then to wash his Man's. But she replied, "That tho' she had "washed his [the Captain's], yet she would not "wash that lubberly Lown his Servant's." But the Captain told her, "His Servant was not well, "and therefore he asked her to do it." She then undertook it; but rubbed his Feet so hard, that she hurt him very much. On which the Pr. spoke to the Captain in *English*, to desire her not to rub so hard, nor go so far up with her Hand, he having only a Philibeg on.

After this Refreshment, both the Pr. and the Captain went to sleep. During which Time, the

Captain's Sister went to the top of a Hill, to keep watch, lest they should be surprised.

The Pr. did not sleep above two Hours; though the Captain, being weary, slept much longer. But when he awaked, he saw the Pr. dandling a Child, and singing to it, and seemed as alert as if he had been in Bed all Night. "Who knows (says the "Pr.) but this Boy may hereafter be a Captain in "my Service?"

The Captain being thoroughly awake, and hearing his Brother-in-Law was coming, went out to meet him. After usual Ceremonies, *Malcolm* asked him, "If he saw those Ships of War (pointing to them) that were at a distance hovering about the Coast?"—"Yes, said Mr. *Mackinnon*."—"What, says *Malcolm*, if the Pr. be on board one "of them?"—"God forbid, (replied *Mackinnon*)." "—"What, said *Malcolm*, if he was here, *John?* "do you think he would be safe enough?"—"I "wish we had him here, (replied *John*); for he "would be safe enough, and nothing would hurt "him here."—"Well then, (replied *Malcolm*), he "is now in your House: But, when you go in, "you must not take any notice of him, lest the "Servants or others observe you; for he passes "for one *Lewis Caw* my Servant."—*John* promised very fair: But he no sooner saw the Pr. in that Condition, than he burst out into a Flood of Tears; which *Malcolm* observing, obliged *John* to retire immediately.

When the Pr. and *Malcolm* were alone, the Captain desired he would tell him the Perils he had already escaped. Which being told, *Malcolm* seemed amazed. Upon which the Pr. replied, "This is nothing to what I am to undergo: But "Providence will guard me through the whole, as "well as it has hitherto done. What I have un- "dergone, is a Lesson I wish every Pr. underwent "before he came to govern; for it would then "give him an Insight into the distressed Situation "of his Subjects; and be thereby a Means to "make him cautious, not wontonly to throw away "their Riches."

After much more of this sort of Conversation, they began to consult how the Pr. was to get to the Continent of *Scotland*; and both agreed not to let the Laird of *Mackinnon* know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in *John Mackinnon*, and desired him to go and hire a Boat, as if for *Malcolm* only; and made *John* promise not to communicate any thing of what he had heard or seen about them to the Laird, if he and *John* should chance to meet.

John having his Instructions, set forwards; but, soon meeting with his old Chieftain, he could not refrain letting him into the Secret.

The good old Man hearing *John*'s Relation, ordered him to give himself no Trouble about the Boat; for that he [the Laird] would

provide a good one, and would soon be with the Pr.

John returned, and told the Pr. what had happened, and that the Laird would soon be with him. *Malcolm* then said to the Pr. "As the "Case now stands, it will be best to leave all the "Management to the old Gentleman; who will "be firm to his Trust." The Pr. notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the Thought of parting with his faithful Captain. But *Malcolm* represented to the Pr. that, as he [the Captain] had been some time absent, the military People might pursue him upon Suspicion; and, if so, he might be the Cause of the Pr.'s being taken also. "But, if I "return, and should be taken Prisoner, (said "*Malcolm*), which may very likely be the Case, "it will yet enable me to prevent so quick a "Pursuit after you; because, as I am alone, I "can tell my own Tale without being confronted, "and can send them upon a wrong Scent. For "myself (continued *Malcolm*) I care not; but for "you I am much afraid. And, as I can do you "more Service by leaving, than staying with you, "I desire you'll follow the Laird of *Mackinnon's* "Directions." The Pr. at last consented; and just at that Time the old Gentleman got to them, and told them he had got the Boat ready. Upon which they set out for it directly; being accompanied thither by *John Mackinnon* also; who even went with his Laird to the

Continent of *Scotland*, and saw the Pr. safe landed there.

As they were on their Way towards the Boat, the Captain espied two Men of War coming towards them with full Sail before the Wind: And thereupon "he intreated the Pr. not to attempt to "go on board at that time, but to wait till the Men "of War had steered another course; for just now "[continues *Malcolm*] the Wind is fair for them, "but against you."—"Never fear, replied the Pr. "I have not had so many Escapes to be catched "here; I'll go on board; and you'll find the "Wind will change immediately, and make those "very Ships steer a contrary Course. Providence "will yet take care of me; and it will not be in "the Power of those Ships to come near me at "this Juncture."

By this time they were got to the Sea-side. And the Pr. being about to step into the Boat, being Eight o'Clock at Night, turned suddenly to *Malcolm*, and said, "Don't you remember I "promised to meet *Murdoch Macleod* at such a "Place, naming it?"—"No matter, [said the Captain]; I'll make your Apology: For, as "Necessity drives you another Road, he'll "excuse you."—"That's not enough, (replied "the Pr.) Have you Pen, Ink and Paper "about you, *Malcolm?* I'll write him a Line "or two; I'm obliged in good Manners to do "so." Accordingly he wrote the following Words.

Sir,

I thank God, I am in good Health, and have got off as designed. Remember me to all Friends, and thank them for the Trouble they have been at.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JAMES THOMPSON.

The Pr. then gave this Letter into the Captain's own Hand, and desired him to deliver it, though open; for he had neither Wax nor Wafer with him.

The Pr. then desired *Malcolm* to light his Pipe. Accordingly the Captain fired a Piece of Tow with his Gun, and held it to the Pipe.

At parting, the Pr. presented *Malcolm* with a Silver Stock-buckle; embraced and saluted him twice; and, thanking him for what he had done, put ten Guineas into his Hand; which the Captain refused; but the Pr. forced him to take them. Here also, the Pr. having got a better Pipe, had no farther Occasion for the short one, which was black with Use, and which was called the *Cutty*. This *Malcolm* took, and some time after gave it to a Friend of his in *England*.

Having taken leave of *Malcolm*, the Pr. the old Laird of *Mackinnon*, *John Mackinnon*, (*Malcolm*'s Brother-in-law), and the Boatmen, all went on board in the Evening of *Friday* the 4th Day of *July*.

What the Pr. had said to *Malcolm* about the

Wind soon changing fair, and being spoken with such Confidence, made so great an Impression upon *Malcolm*, that he was determined to sit down upon a Hill-side, and see the Event. He waited, and does declare, "That the Pr.'s Crew "had not rowed half a Mile, and that towards the "Men of War too, before the Wind chopped "about; and not only blew fair for the Pr. but "blew so brisk a Gale, that it soon drove the "Men of War out of Sight." The Truth of this, both Capt. *Malcolm*, and those in the Boat, will attest upon Oath, if required.

I must observe here, that it is no difficult Matter, in many Cases, to foretel a speedy Change of the Wind; for almost any Sailor can do that: But what is the most providential for the Pr. is, that it should be about to change at the very identical Time he was going on board.

As the Captain had seen the Pr. in the Height of Prosperity, and in the greatest Adversity, a worthy Clergyman of my Acquaintance asked him his opinion of that young Gentleman. His Answer was, That "the Pr. was the most cautious Man "he ever saw, not to be a Coward; and the "bravest, not to be rash."

Capt. *Malcolm* returned home again; but was not many Days there, before he was taken Prisoner. He was detained on board a Ship, conveyed into the *Thames*, and, on the 1st of *November* 1746, was removed to *London*, and

there kept in the Hands of Mr. *William Dick* a Messenger, till *July* 1747 ; and then was discharged without being asked any Questions. He had cleared himself of taking Arms in behalf of the Pr. by surrendering with his Men, according to the Duke of *Cumberland*'s Proclamation. He and Miss *Macdonald* returned to *Scotland* together. *All this Account was given by Capt.* Malcolm Macleod *himself; and was wrote down as he dictated.*

I observed, that the Pr. left the Island for the Continent of *Scotland* the 4th of *July*, under the Care of the old Laird of *Mackinnon*. The Night proved tempestuous, and the Coast was very dangerous. They also met a Boat, in which were some armed Militia, with whom they spoke ; and, as the Militia did not much exceed their own Number, the Pr. and Crew were resolved to make all the Head they could, and to fight in case they had been attacked. But, in spite of all these Dangers, they landed safe in *Moidart*, being about thirty Miles from the Place they set out from ; and went again to Mr. *Angus Macdonald*'s House at *Borodale*, changed his Dress, and sent for *Macdonald* of *Glenaladale*, of *Clanranald*'s Family.

Many of those who read this Account, will scarce think it possible that the Pr. could have escaped being drowned in so many Storms, when in the open Seas, in such small Vessels ; the largest

of which was heavy laden with thirteen Men; and some of them would scarce hold six People.*

After having landed the Pr. the Laird of *Mackinnon* took his leave, and set forwards in the same Boat on his Return home; but was taken Prisoner in *Morar*, in his Passage back, (so close was the Pr. pursued); and was conveyed into the *Thames* by Sea; and there, partly on board, and partly at *Tilbury* Fort, was kept a close Prisoner, until he was removed to the new Goal in *Southwark*, where he was put into Irons; and, in 1747, was removed into the hands of a Messenger.

Glenaladale, as I observed, being sent for, came; and then informed the Pr. about *Lochiel*, *Keppoch*, and others; and that the loss at *Culloden*, and after the Battle, was not near so great as *Sullivan* and *Oneille* had told him.

The Pr. then proposed to go to Lochaber, where he believed his beloved *Lochiel* was. But, as all the Passes were so closely guarded, it was deemed at that time impracticable. For one Line was formed from *Inverness* to *Fort-Augustus*, and from thence to *Fort-William*, to prevent either the Pr. or any other from escaping; and another Line was formed from the Head of *Locharkaig*, to prevent

* Something like this appears in the *Octavo* Edition of *Anson's* Voyage, *p.* 375. "The Cutter of a sixty Gun "Ship (being only on open Boat of about twenty two "Feet in Length) was six Weeks on the Ocean, "exposed to Storms and Tempests, and yet weathered "it the whole Time."

any passing into or out of *Lochaber*. The Pr. continued some Days in that Country, being in *Glen-Biasdale*, about ten Miles from *Moidart*; and staid, till he heard of the Arrival of Gen. *Campbell* with 400 Men on one Side of him, and Capt. *Caroline Scot* with 500 more on the other. They having received Intelligence whereabouts the Pr. was, were forming a Circle round him; and were not two Miles distant from him.

The Pr. then having an Account of this, was advised to go to the Braes of *Glenmoriston*; and there, and in *Lovat*'s Country, to continue until the Passes should be opened. In this Situation he sent for Mr. *Donald Cameron* of *Glenpane*, to be their Guide to the Braes of *Locharkaig*. He came; and, in the Night, conducted the Pr. very safe through the Guards who were in the Pass; and went so close to their Tents, as to hear every Word that was said, being obliged to creep upon their Hands and Knees. At the same Time, there went with the Pr. *Glenaladale*, his Brother, and two young Boys, Sons of *Angus Macdonald* of *Boradale*.

After this, the Pr. continued his Journey for *Glenmoriston*'s Country. As they were travelling one Day, and having only *Glenaladale* with him, the latter lost his Purse, with forty Guineas in it, in going about three Miles. He lamented this Misfortune the more, because it was all the Money they had; the Pr. having none left. This Gentleman proposed to go back, and seek for it, saying,

" He was certain he could go the very same Road, " and should find it." The Pr. opposed it, and desired he would not go back. But all in vain; for he was resolute, and accordingly went back; desiring the Pr. to wait, and rest himself behind the Hill adjoining, till he should return.

The Gentleman being gone, the Pr. was at his Post, meditating upon the Goodness of Providence in preserving him hitherto, though often in the midst of the greatest Dangers; when, at a Distance, he spied a Party of Soldiers advancing. Upon which, he hid himself as well as he could; but yet in such a manner as to see the Soldiers; who went by not far from him, and then went the very Rout where the Pr. and the other Gentleman would have gone, had not the Purse been lost, or had it not been their whole Stock; and then they both must have been taken or killed. Thus, what they were regretting as their very great Misfortune, was the Means of their Preservation*. The Pr.

* Something like this we find in the Voyage above mentioned, *p.* 412. "Thus were we forced upon [*Tinian*] the " most desirable and salutary Measures by Accidents which " at first we considered as the greatest of Misfortunes: For, " had we not been driven by contrary Winds and Currents " to the Northward of our Course, (a Circumstance which " at that time gave us the most terrible Apprehensions), we " should, in all Probability, never have arrived at this de- " lightful Island; and consequently we should have missed " of that Place where alone all our Wants could be most " amply supplied."

watched the Soldiers as far as he could: And then soon after his Friend returned with the Purse; to whom the Pr. communicated what he had seen; and both of them "joined in returning God Thanks "for his Care of them;" and then proceeded on their Way; but not as they had at first proposed.

They got into *Glenmoriston* very safe; but were almost famished with Hunger, when the Pr. saw a little Hut at a Distance, and some Smoke going out of the Hole in the Roof. "Thither (says he) "will I go, let the Consequence be what it will: "For I had better be killed at once, than be "starved to Death with Hunger; having been "forty eight Hours without Meat." His Friend did all in his Power to dissuade him from it; but he would go.

When they got to the Hut, the Pr. went boldly in, without showing any manner of Concern; and there found six stout lusty Fellows at Dinner upon a large Piece of boiled Beef: A Sight he had been long a Stranger to.

These Men were six noted Thieves, who had made this Hut in that Place for Privacy and Safety, and were not a little amazed at seeing the Pr. go in there. One of them knew the Pr. and also knew he was skulking; but, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the Company who their new Guests were, had the Presence of Mind, upon seeing the Pr. to cry out, "Ha! *Dougal Maccullony*, I am "glad to see thee!" The Pr. by this Expression,

found he was known, and with equal Steadiness of Countenance, thanked him, sat down among them, and ate very heartily.

The Pr. his Friend, and the Man who knew the Pr. walked out after Dinner, and then consulted what farther was to be done. And, being informed of the State of the Country about, and of the military People, found it absolutely necessary to wait here for some time; and that the other five Men must be intrusted with the Secret: Which being done, they rejoiced that they had it in their Power to serve the Pr. and proved of great Service, and were very faithful. With these Men, and *Glenaladale*, the Pr. continued betwixt the Braes of *Glenmoriston* and *Glen-Strath-Ferrar*, till the Guards were removed, and the Passes opened.

About this Time, *viz.* the middle of *July*, one *Rhoderick Mackenzie*, a Merchant in *Edinburgh*, who had been out with the Pr. was skulking among the Hills about *Glenmoriston*, when some of the Soldiers met with him; and, as he was about the Pr.'s Size and Age, and not much unlike him in the Face, was a genteel Man, and well dressed, they took him for the Pr. Mr. *Mackenzie* tried to escape them, but could not; and, being determined not to be taken and hanged (which he knew, if taken, would be his Fate), he bravely resolved to die Sword-in-hand; and, in that Death, to serve the Pr. more than he could possibly do by living. This Bravery and Steadiness of Mr. *Mackenzie*

confirmed the Soldiers in their Belief, that he was the Pr. On which Account one of them shot him; who, as he fell, cried out to them, "You "have killed your Prince! You have killed your "Prince!" and expired immediately. The Soldiers, overjoyed with their supposed good Fortune in meeting with so great a Prize, immediately cut off the brave young Man's Head; and made all the haste they could to *Fort-Augustus*, to tell the News, and to lay claim to the 30,000 l.; producing the Head, which several said they knew to be the Pr.'s Head. This great News was soon carried to the Duke, with the Head; who so far believed the *great Work* was done, that he set forward, for *London*, from *Fort-Augustus*, on the 18th of *July*; as soon after Mr. *Mackenzie*'s Death as he could possibly go. It was about this Head that *Kingsborough* was asked the Question before mentioned by one of the Captains of the *English* Forces.

The Soldiers and Militia sent out to take the Pr. and his Adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his head sent to *London*, began to be less strict, and not to keep so good a Look-out as before; by which means the Pr. escaped from Place to Place with less Danger.

I observed before, that the Pr. continued betwixt the Braes of *Glenmoriston* and *Glen-Strath-Ferrar*, till the Guards were removed, and all the Passes opened. About the Beginning of *August*,

he went with his Retinue (as above) to *Lochaber*, and to *Achnasual* on the Side of *Locharkaig*, two Miles from *Achnacarie*, the Seat of *Lochiel*.

The Pr. and Company had brought no Provisions with them, expecting to be supplied in that Country; where there used to be greater Plenty than whence they had come. But they were greatly disappointed; finding all the whole Country plundered and burnt, and no Cattle, or any other sort of Provisions to be got. In this Distress they remained some time; when, at last, one of the *Glenmoriston* Men espied a single Hart, and shot him. On this they lived, without Bread or Salt.

The next Day, the Pr. being informed, that *Macdonald* of *Lochgarie*, *Cameron* of *Cluns*, and *Cameron* of *Achnasual*, were in the neighbouring Mountains, sent after them; and, at the same time, sent a Messenger to *Lochiel*, who was then about twenty Miles off, to let him [*Lochiel*] know where he [the Pr.] was. Before the Pr. sent to *Lochiel*, he [*Lochiel*] had heard also, that it was supposed the Pr. was in the Country; and sent his Brother Doctor *Archibald Cameron*, and the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, by different Roads, to get all the Intelligence they could of the Pr.

The Person sent by the Pr. to *Lochiel*, met Dr. *Cameron* within a few Miles of the Place where *Lochiel* was; who was obliged to return with two *French* Officers, whom he had met with; and who were in quest of the Pr. also.

This faithful Person, sent by the Pr. would not own to the Doctor, or to the two *French* Officers, that he knew any thing about the Pr. his Orders being only to tell it to *Lochiel* himself; which he punctually obeyed. And, as he said he had Business of the utmost Consequence, the Doctor conducted him, with the two Officers, to *Lochiel*.

Next Day, *Lochiel* sent Dr. *Cameron*, with four Servants, to the Pr. and sent the Officers at the same time, to be under the Care of one of his Friends, till farther Orders.

Mr. *Cameron* the Minister, whom *Lochiel* had sent out, to get Intelligence of the Pr. after travelling and searching several Days, went to *Achnacarie*; where he met with Dr. *Cameron* going to the Pr. with the four Servants; who, as the River was not fordable, raised a Boat, which Capt. *Monro* of *Culcairn* had sunk, after searching the Isle of *Locharkaig*.

When *Culcairn* was plundering in this Island, he saw some new-raised Earth; and, imagining there would be either Money or Arms concealed, had it dug up; but only found a Man's Corpse, with a good Holland Shirt on; which made him believe it to be *Lochiel*. He thereupon sent an Express to the Duke of *Cumberland*, to tell him that *Lochiel* was dead of his Wounds. But it really was the Corpse of —— *Cameron*, Brother of *Allan Cameron* of *Callart*; which last was taken at *Culloaen*, and carried to *London*. However,

rather than have no Plunder, they took the Shirt, and left the Corpse lying on the Ground.

Dr. *Cameron* and the Minister, observing some Men by the Water-side in Arms, sent some of *Cluns*'s Children to see who they were. They soon found, that they belonged to *Cluns*; sent the Boat for them; and then sent the four Servants back again to *Lochiel*; pretending they were going to skulk in the Wood for some Days, and that keeping such a Number together, might be dangerous.

They then crossed the River, and went to the Hut where the Pr. was; which was built on Purpose in a Wood betwixt *Achnasual*, and the End of *Locharkaig*. The Pr. and *Cameron* of *Achnasual*, upon seeing the Doctor and his Brother at a Distance, and not then knowing who they were, had left the Hut, and went a little from it: But, being soon informed who they were, immediately returned; and then there was a joyful Meeting. And when they told the Pr. that *Lochiel* was well, and recovered of his Wounds, he returned God Thanks thrice for it, and expressed an uncommon Satisfaction.

The Pr. was at this time bare-footed; had on a dirty Shirt, an old black Kelt Coat, a Plaid, and a Philibeg, and a long Beard, a Gun in his Hand, and a Pistol and Durk by his Side. He was very chearful, and in good Health. They had killed a Cow the Day before, and the Servants were roast-

ing Part of it. At Dinner the Pr. ate heartily of the Beef, and some Bread which they had got from *Fort-Augustus*; and no Man could sleep sounder than he did. He now began to speak some little *Erse*.

The Pr. proposed going immediately to *Lochiel*: But, a Friend telling him, that he saw in the Newspapers, (which they got at the same time they got their Bread), that it was said the Pr. had passed *Coriarrick* with *Lochiel* and thirty Men, which probably might occasion a strict Search in those Parts; he therefore resolved to stay some Days longer where he was. However, two or three Days after this, the Pr. sent *Lochgary* and Dr. *Cameron* to *Lochiel*: And then dismissed *Glenaladale*, to look out for Ships on the *West* Coast; and the *Glenmoriston* Men, to return home again. And the Pr. continued in the Hut with *Cluns*'s Children, Capt. *Macraw* of *Glengary*'s Regiment, one or two Servants, and the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*.

The two Officers I mentioned above, who went to *Lochiel* with Dr. *Cameron*, came from *Dunkirk*, in a small Vessel, with sixty other Gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a Company of Volunteers under the Command of the said two Officers. They got to *Pollieu* in *Seafort*'s Country; where four of them landed, to deliver their Dispatches. Two of whom were taken Prisoners, *viz.* one *Fitzgerald*, a *Spanish* Officer, whom they hanged at

Fort-William, pretending he had been a Spy in *Flanders*; the other was called Mons. *de Berard*, a *French* Officer, and was after some time exchanged upon the Cartel. The other two wandered in *Seafort*'s Country, till *Lochgary*, hearing they had Letters for the Pr. sent Capt. *Macraw* and his own Servant for them, that they might be sent to *Lochiel*, since the Pr. could not be found. This was about the middle of *July*.

When they came to *Lochiel*, some Person told him, these Officers had left their Letters with *Alexander Macleod*, one of the Pr.'s Aid de Camps. Though this proved true; yet, as they themselves had not told it to *Lochiel*, it made him suspect them to be the Government's Spies.

The Pr. was very desirous of seeing these Officers: But the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron* told him what both *Lochiel*, the Doctor, and he himself were afraid of. Upon which, the Pr. resolved to act in this Affair with great Caution; and said, "He could not help observing, that it probably "might be as they conjectured; because, if they "were not Spies, it was surprising that two Men, "without one Word of *Erse*, and quite Strangers "in the Country, could escape the Troops, who "were always in Motion in quest of himself [the "Pr.] and his Followers."

However, as these Officers had told *Lochiel*, that they had never seen the Pr. he [the Pr.] laid a Scheme to see them safely; and therefore he

wrote a Letter himself to them, to this Purpose, *viz.* "That, to avoid falling into his Enemies "Hands, he was under a Necessity to retire to a "remote Country; where he had no Person with "him, except one Capt. *Drummond*, and a Ser- "vant: And, as he could not remove from where "he was, without Danger to himself and them, "he had sent Capt. *Drummond* with this Letter; "and, as he could repose entire Confidence in him, "he desired they would tell whatever Message "they had to the Bearer, Capt. *Drummond*; and "take his Advice as to their Conduct." This Letter the Pr. proposed to deliver himself, as Capt. *Drummond*. Accordingly the Officers were sent for, and were introduced to the Pr. under this borrowed Name.

The Pr. then delivered the Letter to them; with which they seemed very well pleased; and told him every thing they had to say; which he afterwards said was of no great Consequence, as his Affairs then stood. They continued there two Days; and asked Capt. *Drummond* many Questions about the Pr.'s Health, his Manner of Living, &c.

The Pr. thinking the Packet left with Mr. *Alexander Macleod* might be of Use to him, sent for it. But, as it was in Cypher, and directed to the *French* Ambassador, he could make nothing of them. *Lochiel* still took care of these Officers, till the Pr. was ready to go away; when they

were conducted to the Ship: And when they saw that they had before conversed with the Pr. in so very free a Manner, taking him then really for Capt. *Drummond*, they were greatly ashamed, and asked his Pardon.

The Pr. and Company continued in this Wood, and in that over-against *Achnacarie*, (having three Huts in different Places, to which they removed by turns), until about the 10th of *August*. On which Day, *Cluns*'s Sons, and Mr. *Cameron* the Minister, went to the Strath of *Cluns* to get Intelligence.

They were not half an Hour in the Hut which *Cluns* had built for his Family, (after his House was burnt), when a Child of six Years of Age went out; and, returning hastily, said, "That she "saw a Body of Soldiers." This they could not believe, as *Lochgary* had promised *Lochiel* to have a Guard between *Fort-Augustus* and *Cluns*'s, to give Intelligence.

They went out however, and found all true as the Girl had told. *Cluns* skulked to observe the Motion of that Party. One of his Sons, and Mr. *John Cameron* the Minister, went to inform the Pr. who was that Day in one of the Huts on the other Side of the Water *Kaig*, a short Mile from *Cluns*'s; and, in crossing the Water at the Ford, under Cover of the Wood, and going within Pistol-shot of the Hut, Mr. *Cameron* observed the Party advancing.

The Pr. was asleep, it being about eight o'Clock in the Morning: Mr. *Cameron* however awoke him; and told him, that a Body of their Enemies was in Sight. He then arose very composedly, called for his Gun, and sent for Capt. *Macraw*, and *Alexander*, (*Cluns*'s Son).

As they had not received Intelligence of this Party's marching out of *Fort-Augustus*, they concluded that there was some Treachery in the Case; and that they were surrounded on all Sides. However, they were determined, though but eight in Number, that, rather than yield to be butchered by their merciless Enemies, to sell their Lives as dear as they could, in the Defence of their Pr. and to die like Men of Honour.

The Pr. examined all their Guns, which were in pretty good Order; and said, he hoped they should do some Execution before they were killed: "For his part, (he said), he had been bred a "Fowler, and could charge quick; was a tolerable "Marksman; and would be sure of one at least."

They then left the Hut; and marched to a small Hill, above the Wood, from whence they could see a great way up *Glenkengie*, and not be discovered. They got there unobserved; which was owing to the Wood. The Pr. then sent *Cluns* and the Minister to take a narrow View of the Party; and resolved that Night to go to the Top of *Mullantagart*, a high Mountain in the Braes of *Glenkengie*; and sent one to *Cluns* and the

Minister, to know what they discovered, or were informed of.

When *Cluns* and the Minister had got to the Strath of *Cluns*, the Women told them, that the Party was about 200 of Lord *Loudon*'s Regiment under Capt. *Grant* of *Knockando* in *Strathspey*; that they had carried away ten Milk Cows, which *Cluns* had bought after he was plundered before; and that they had found out the Hut the Pr. had in the Wood of *Tervalt*; and said they were gone to fetch *Barrisdale*'s Cattle to the Camp.

In the Evening, *Cluns*'s Son went to his Father from the Pr. and then they all returned, and carried some Whisky, Bread and Cheese; and got to the Pr. about Twelve o'Clock at Night. He was on the Side of the Mountain, without Fire or any Covering. They persuaded him to take a Dram, and make a Fire; which however, they durst not keep above half an Hour, before they extinguished it.

By Day-light, they went up to the Top of the Mountain; where they staid till Eight o'Clock in the Evening, without rising up. The Pr. slept all the Forenoon in his Plaid and wet Stockings; though it hailed. From hence they went that Night to the Strath of *Glenkengie*; where they killed a Cow, and lived merrily for some Days.

From this Place they went to the Braes of *Achnacarie*, and waded through the Water of *Arkey*, which reached up to the Mid-thigh. In

which wet Condition the Pr. lay all Night and next Day, in the open Air; yet catched no Cold.

In a Day or two, *Lochgary* and Dr. *Cameron* returned from *Lochiel*, (to whom they had been sent); and told it as *Lochiel*'s Opinion, that the Pr. would be safer where *Lochiel* was skulking; which pleased the Pr. very much.

The next Night the Pr. set out with *Lochgary*, Dr. *Cameron*, *Alexander* (*Cluns*'s Son), the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, and three Servants. They travelled in the Night, and slept all the Day, till they got to *Lochiel*; who was then among the Hills between the Braes of *Badenoch* and *Athol*.

The Doctor and his Brother went by another Road on a Message to *Badenoch*. The Minister returned about the 13th of *September*; and the next Day was sent South, by *Lochiel*, to hire a Ship to carry them off, from the East Coast.

The Ship was provided; and one sent to inform the Pr. of it; who, with *Lochiel* and others, was to go where the Ship then lay. But, before this Messenger got to the Place where the Pr. and *Lochiel* had been, two of his Friends, who had orders to watch on the West Coast, had been to tell them, that two *French* Ships were arrived at *Moidart*.

Upon this the Pr. set out from where they were the Night following; and, at the same Time, sent to inform others who were skulking in different Places. Some arrived at the Place appointed in

time; but several, by some Accident or other, had not that good Fortune.

The Pr. reached *Moidart* on *September* 19, 1746; and, on the 20th, imbarked on board the *Bellona* of *St. Maloes*, a *Nantz* Privateer of 32 Carriage and 12 Swivel Guns, and 340 Men, brought hither by Col. *Warren* of *Dillon*'s Regiment, who went on purpose for a Vessel. The Pr. after seeing his Friends all on board both the Ships, then imbarked himself; set sail immediately for *France*; where he landed safely at *Roscoat*, near three Leagues West of *Morlaix*, on the 29th of the same Month, having had a pleasant Voyage; though narrowly escaping Admiral *Lestock*'s Squadron, who were then upon the Coast of *Bretagne*.

The *Bellona* was afterwards taken, on the 2d of *February* following, by three Men of War, *viz.* the *Eagle*, the *Edinburgh*, and the *Nottingham*.

From the above Account we find, that the Pr. was twice in danger of being shot; and five times in danger of being drowned, being in great storms in little open Boats; nine times pursued, and in sight of the Men of War, and armed Vessels; many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his Pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of what they said; six times miraculously escaped being taken.

He was often almost famished for want of Meat and Drink; and must have starved inevitably, had he not found the Fish at the desert Island of

Euirn or *Iffurt*, and if one of the *Glenmoriston* Men had not found and shot the Hart.

He was mostly obliged to lie in miserable Huts, or on Mountains; having no other bed than the bare Ground or Heath, and without any other Covering than the Dews or Rains. And add to all these, that he had frequent Returns of the Bloody Flux.

Thus, Reader, you have a faithful Account of the whole Escape, taken from the Authorities which are already mentioned. And this Account, since the Pr.'s Return to the Continent of *Scotland*, is chiefly taken from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, Presbyterian Minister, and Chaplain to *Fort-William*; who, you find, has been much with the Pr. I shall therefore conclude with his own Words, *viz.* "I have told you what I "was witness to, or informed of by such as I could "absolutely depend upon. I shall only add, that "the Pr. submitted with Patience to his adverse "Fortune; was chearful; and frequently desired "those who were with him, to be so. He was "cautious when in the greatest Danger; never at "a loss, in resolving what to do, with uncommon "Fortitude. He regretted more the Distress of "those who suffered for adhering to his Interest, "than the Hardships and Dangers he was hourly "exposed to. To conclude, He possesses all the "Virtues that form the Character of A TRUE "HERO and A GREAT PRINCE."

The Pr. after landing at *Roscort*, proceeded on his Journey to *Paris*; where the *Chateau St. Antoine* was fitted up for his Reception. He was scarce well arrived here, when he went to *Versailles*, and was there received by the King and Queen of *France* with all the Marks of the most tender Affection, and seeming Demonstrations of Joy. At different times he related to them the chief of his Sufferings; and they seemed to be greatly affected with the melancholy Story; and endeavoured to comfort him with fair Promises. But the Memory of his Disappointment was yet too recent, and the News which was continually arriving, of the Commitments, Trials and Executions of some of the most faithful of his Followers, filled him with an Anxiety not easily to be removed; and left but little Room for pleasurable Ideas.

This was only a private Visit: Therefore it was thought necessary for him to make his Compliments to the King and his Court in Form, and in the Character which he had borne by Commission from his Father. This he did in about ten Days after.

The *French* soon raised some new Regiments wholly composed of *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish*; and the Command of one of them was given to Lord *Ogilvie*; and of another, to young *Lochiel*. This, and several other Methods, the *French* took to sooth the Pr. and to make him subservient to their Purpose. But though he saw through their

whole Designs, he could not help himself as Affairs then stood. Therefore he put on a Mask, as well as the *French* Ministry; and looked upon all their Promises to be made with no Intention of being performed.

In *France*, the Pr. amused himself with Plays, Operas, paying and receiving Visits, *&c.*; and, after being there some time, he made a Tour to *Madrid incog.* What his Business was there, and what Success he met with, remains as yet a Secret. However, it is well known, he was greatly caressed there. His Stay at *Madrid* was about five or six Days; and then, after making a Tour of near four Months, he returned to *Paris*.

Whatever Disappointments the Pr. met with, nothing chagrined him more than his Brother's Acceptance of a Cardinal's Hat, which happened about this Time. His Discontent at this was so great, that he forbade all who were about him ever to mention his Brother in his Presence; and he always omitted drinking his Health at Meals, as heretofore he had done.

In this Situation all things seemed to go on, till the Negotiation for Peace was advancing; when the Pr. had a fair Opportunity of throwing off the Mask, which he had so long wore; and then hired a fine Hotel on the *Kay de Theatin*, opposite to the *Louvre* on the Banks of the *Seyne*, for himself and the chief of his Retinue, on Purpose, as he said, to be near the Opera and Playhouse, and

other Diversions of *Paris*; to some of which he generally went every Evening.

During this Time, he neither went so frequently, nor staid so long at *Versailles*, as he had been accustomed to do; and rather avoided, than sought any private Conferences with the King. The first publick Indication he gave of his Disgust, was, to cause a great Number of Medals, both of Silver and Copper, to be cast with his Head, and this Inscription,

CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS.

And, on the reverse, BRITANNIA, and Shipping, with this Motto,

AMOR ET SPES,
BRITANNIÆ.

Every body was surprised at the Device, as *France* was reduced to the Condition of making Peace, entirely by the Bravery and Success of the *British* Fleet. This Device gave great Offence to the *French* Ministry, and to several of the Nobility and others.

Soon after the *French* Plenipotentiaries were set out to meet those of other Powers at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in order to open the Congress, the Pr. entered his Protest there against all that should be concerted or agreed upon in that, or any other Congress, in prejudice to his Title and Pretentions.

After signing the Preliminaries, the Pr. went no more to Court; but appeared far from being disconcerted at this Event, and was not the least shocked; but seemed determined to contemn his Fate, instead of complaining of the Severity of it; and kept his Resolution to the End, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected Trials.

As, by one of the Articles of Peace, the Pr. was obliged to leave *France*, the King wrote a Letter to the States of *Friburg*, desiring they would receive him in a Manner becoming his Birth, and as a Prince who was very dear to him.

Neither the one nor the other had any Effect on the Deportment of the young Hero. He continued to live as a Person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing, till the King, who had doubtless expected he would have gone of his own accord, but finding he did not, ordered Cardinal *Tencin* to acquaint him of the Necessity there was for his Departure.

This the Cardinal did in the most tender Manner; but he received such evasive Answers from the Pr. that he could not give the King any positive Account whether he would go or not.

The King, however, waited about fourteen Days; when, being informed that the Pr. made not the least Preparation for his Departure, sent the Duke *de Gesvres* with a Message of the same Nature as before. The Pr. only replied, "That

"he had so little expected such a Step would be "taken, that he had not yet sufficient Time to "consider how to behave in it."

This Answer produced a Delay of another Fortnight; when the Duke *de Gesvres* was sent a second Time; and, on his expatiating that the King was under the Necessity of executing this Article of the Treaty, the Pr. replied with some Warmth, "That there was a prior Treaty between "himself and the King; from which he could "not depart with Honour.—It was in vain the Duke urged him to be more explicit. The other only bid him deliver what he had said to the King; who would know his Meaning.

Notwithstanding these Messages were no Secret, the Pr. shewed so little Intention to leave *Paris*, that his People bought several Pieces of new Furniture for his House. Among other Persons, he sent for the King's Goldsmith, who had been employed by himself before, and ordered him to make a Service of Plate to the Value of 100,000 Crowns, to be ready against a particular Day he mentioned; which the Goldsmith promised not to fail in. But it so happned, that, immediately after, he received Orders to prepare such a large Quantity for the King's Use against that Time, that he found it impossible to comply with both. On which he waited on the Pr. and intreated he would allow him some few Days longer, telling him the Occasion. But he would not admit of

the Excuse; insisting on being first served, as he had given the first Orders.

The Goldsmith was in a very great Dilemma on this Occasion; but thought the most prudent Way to extricate himself out of it, would be, to acquaint the King; who no sooner heard the Story, than he commanded that the Pr. should be first served; and that the Value of the Plate should be paid by the Comptroller of his Houshold, without any Expense to the other.

It is supposed, the King imagined the Hurry the Pr. shewed for having this Plate got ready by such a Time, was occasioned by his designing to leave *Paris* on that Day; for not till above a Week after it had been delivered were any more Messages sent to him.

But it is plain the Pr. was so far from any such Intention, that he resolved to push Things to the last Extremity.—This fine Service of Plate was on the Score of a grand Entertainment he made; at which were present the Princess of *Talmont*, a near Relation to the Queen; the Marchioness *de Sprimont*; Madam *de Maiseiuse*; the Duke *de Bouillion*; and above thirty others of the Nobility of both Sexes; and several Foreigners of great Distinction.

About this time, the two Hostages from *Great Britain* arrived at *Paris*. On which the Prince expressed great Marks of Dissatisfaction; often saying publickly, "That the Tables were sadly

"turned upon poor *Old England*; since her Word "could not be relied upon, without such Pledges "as are scarce ever granted, but by a conquered "Nation; while *French* Faith passed current for "all that was to be done on her Part."

The *French* Court, having received repeated Complaints from the *English* Ministry, because the Pr. was not removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him: Accordingly the Duke *de Gesvres* waited on him a third Time; and acquainted him also, that the States of *Friburg* had returned a most obliging Answer to the King's Letter on his Account; and were ready to receive the Honour of his going to reside in their Canton with all the Demonstrations of Respect due to his Birth and Virtues, and in their Power to give. To this the Pr. replied only, "That he hoped to find a Time "to return the Good-will of the States;" without giving the Duke any Satisfaction, whether he accepted their offer or not.

The King on this dispatched a Courier to his Father; and the Court being willing to wait the Result of this, occasioned a farther Delay.

As no Part of these Proceedings were a Secret, there was scarce any thing else talked of in *Paris*; and amongst the Body of the People of all Degrees, for one that blamed the Pr.'s Conduct in this point there were more than a hundred applauded it.

Two of the distinguished Characteristicks of the *French* Nation being, the Envy they are apt to conceive of the Excellence of any Person not born amongst them, and their implicit Love and Reverence even to idolizing their Sovereign; we must be obliged to confess, that the Merits they vouchsafed to acknowledge in a Foreigner, must be extraordinary indeed; and that he who is capable of rivaling their King in their Affection and Respect, must have something of a superior Dignity about him.

The Ministry could not brook this, and were resolved to get rid of the Pr. at any rate; and therefore, without waiting for the Return of the Courier from *Rome*, prevailed upon the King to send the Duke *de Gesvres* a fourth time to him, and insist on his immediate Removal.

The Pr. now expressed some Impatience; and told the Duke, that though he should always treat with Respect any one who came to him from the King, yet he was sorry to find he had the Trouble of repeating so often a Business to which he could give no Ear, without hearing it from the King himself. The King, being acquainted with this, and being impatient to get rid of the Pr. at any rate, and as yet loth to proceed to Extremities, vouchsafed to write a Letter to him; and sent with it a blank Order, to be filled up by himself, for what yearly Sum he pleased; Both which the Duke *de Gesvres* was obliged to deliver.

The Pr. read the Letter twice over; and, having paused a little, threw the Order from him with Disdain; saying, the Thing required of him was not consistent with Honour.

This ambiguous Proceeding, both perplexed and exasperated the King. A Council was called; and therein it was resolved to send *Monsieur le Count de Maurepas*, to expostulate with the Pr. on his late Conduct; and not to leave him, till he had obliged him to declare in express Terms, what his Intention was; and withal to intimate to him, that, if he did not conform to the present Necessity of Affairs, by leaving the Kingdom with a good Grace, the Ministry would be obliged to compel him to it.—"*The Ministers! The Ministers!* " (cried the Pr. with the greatest Disdain). If " you will oblige me, *Monsieur le Count*, tell the " King, that I am born to break all the Schemes " of his Ministers."

It is supposed the Pr. had a double View in acting in the Manner he did: First, to convince *Europe*, that the most solemn Engagements had been entered into between him and the Court of *France*, and were all broken on their Part; and, secondly, to show the Court, that he was not to be any farther imposed upon; and resented as he ought the Artifices they had practised upon him.

The Courier, being at length arrived, brought a Letter from the Pr.'s Father to him, inclosed in one to the King, open, as it is said, for the King's

Perusal. It is said, the Letter contained a Command to the Pr. to leave the *French* Dominions, but without mentioning the Time when. And for that Reason the Pr. thought himself at liberty to stay where he was, till he had fixed on a proper Place for his future Residence, as he had some Reluctance to go to *Friburg*.

The Ministry, not knowing the Pr.'s real Motives for staying, prevailed upon the King to give Orders for his being arrested: And, when the Order was carried to be signed, the King said, "Poor Prince! how difficult it is for a King to be "a true Friend!" This seems to shew, the King was ignorant of the unworthy Treatment the Pr. received, when in the Hands of those commissioned to arrest him. This Order, signed but at Three o'Clock, was blazed all over *Paris* before Evening.

Twelve hundred Guards were drawn out, and placed in the Court of the Palace-Royal; a great Number of Serjeants and Grenadeers, armed cap-a-pee, filled the Passages of the Opera-house; the Guet (*i.e.* the Street-guards) were placed in the Streets leading to it: Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Duke *de Biron*, who is Colonel of the Guards, and had Charge of executing this Commission, would not appear, but kept at a Distance disguised, and left it to the Care of Major *Vandreville*, a Man of mean Extraction, and more mean Merit, who had been raised by him to that Post. The Manner of this whole Transaction is fully and

minutely related in the following Extract of a Letter from *Paris*, dated *December* 21. 1748, to a Person at *London*.

—— I would not acquaint you of this odd Scene, till the Confusion was a little settled; and that I could inform you of the Circumstances with more Certainty.

As the Pr. was determined not to leave *France*, till forced to it by Violence, he was consequently in daily Expectations of being arrested; and accordingly had secured all his Papers, Plate, and such Things as he thought not proper to trust to the *French* Mercy.

Some Hours before the Pr. was taken, several Streets of *Paris* were beset with Companies of the Guards; and such Precautions were taken, as if there was a real Danger of some sudden Rising for his Defence. This Precaution seemed necessary in some measure; because, on *Saturday* the 7th, the Pr. was at the Play, where he was universally clapped at his Entrance, and applauded by all for his brave Answers to the King's Orders to him to quit the *French* Dominions; into which he had been invited from *Italy*, *&c.* *&c.* This general Applause of the People is believed to have hastened his being seized. The Pr. being informed, by a Friend, of the Motions, and placing the Guards, only calmly replied, "Well then, if it be so, we will "not let them stay for us;" and so immediately went to the Opera, being on *Tuesday* the 10th.

He was arrested, in entering the Opera-house, by six lusty Fellows, who had Cuirasses under their Coats. They seized his Sword, and small Pocket-pistols, which he always carried for his own Security. They tied his Arms, Thighs, and Legs with Cords; and, lifting him off the Ground, put him into a Coach, attended by the Major, Aid-Major, and another Officer of the Blue-guards, and four Serjeants behind the Coach. In this Equipage he was carried to the Castle of *Vincennes*, the whole Road being crowded with Guards. He behaved on the Road to *Vincennes* with all the Composure imaginable; and, finding the Aid-Major had been in *Italy*, talked to him about several Places in that Country.

At his Arrival at the Castle, seeing his intimate Friend and old Acquaintance the Governor approaching to him, he cried out, *Mon ami chatelet, venez donc m'embrasser, puisque je ne puis pas vous embrasser*; that is, *My Friend, come then to embrace me, because I can't embrace you*, (alluding to his Cords wherewith he was tied). The Governor then, in the most tender and respectful Manner, unbound him, and conducted him to a small Room of about ten Feet square, with a small Light which descends from the Top. Upon the Sight of this Apartment, he only said, "He had seen a worse "in *Scotland*."

Three Captains of the Guards were always with him, Night and Day. They, by their Tears,

testified their Concern, and shewed him all the Respect due to his Rank.

The first Night he did not eat, saying, "He had "dined well;" nor did he sleep, till the next Morning (being *Wednesday* the 11th), when he flung himself, in his Cloaths, upon the Bed, and got a good Nap. The same Day he did not dine: But, at five o'Clock in the Evening, the Governor brought him some Broth, with three Bits of Bread, which he begged him to take; and the Pr. complied, and ordered his supper to be ready at Eight o'Clock. He ate very heartily, though it disagreed with him afterwards, as having overfasted himself.

On *Thursday* the 12th, he dined very well; and continued his Meals regularly, ate heartily, and was in good Health till he was released.

On *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Friday*, the Governor went to the King's Levee; but carried back no Orders for amending his Prisoner's Condition.

On *Friday* Morning the 13th, the Pr. wrote to the King; and in the Evening received his Answer: And, on *Saturday* Morning, he got another Letter, and in the Afternoon had Liberty to walk in the Gardens, *&c.*; where he staid some Hours, and then returned to his Dungeon to pass his last Night there. The Contents of these Letters are not yet known.

On *Sunday* the 15th, at Seven o'Clock in the Morning, he departed from *Vincennes* for *Foun-*

tainbleau in a Coach, with the Commandant of the Musquetairs, accompanied by Mr. *Sheridan* and Mr. *Stafford* in two Post-chaises.

On *Monday* the 16th, in the Morning, the Pr. wrote again to the King, and received an immediate Answer.

On *Tuesday* Morning, at Four o'Clock, having eaten three fresh Eggs, he set out from thence, with the aforesaid Company, to hasten out of *France*. But where he will stop, and take up his Residence, is yet a Mystery.

Sixty Musquetairs were appointed to guard him on the Road: But, as he assured the King there was no Necessity for them, they staid behind.

During his Captivity, he never showed the least Impatience, in Looks, Words, or Actions; but bore up with that Magnanimity of Spirit, which gained him the Admiration of every one, and proves him a Hero in every Scene of Life. He was affable in the most gracious Manner to the Governor, and the three Captains of the Guards: And, when he saw them in any Concern on his account, he even revived them with his Gaiety; and always forced them to sit at Table, and eat with him.

The Castle of *Vincennes*, all the Time of the Pr.'s Residence, was strongly guarded by the Grenadeers and Blue Guards: And the Drawbridges were lifted up both Day and Night.

So much for the Pr. who was no sooner arrested, than the Lieutenant *de Police*, with 150 Guards,

were ordered to his House: But finding the Doors shut, were preparing Ladders, when some of them finding a Back-door, broke it open, entered triumphantly, and seized every Person there, even to the Scullion; and ate the Supper which was preparing for the Pr.

At the same time, Sir *David Murray*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *Goring*, Mr. *Stafford*, Mr. *Sheridan*, and others, both *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish*, of the Pr.'s Adherents, to about forty, were arrested in different Parts of the Town, and were all conducted, in the Night, to the Bastile; but were treated very well in all Respects, excepting their Confinement.

The Pr.'s *French* Servants were set at liberty the next Day: And, before he left *Vincennes*, he ordered them to be all paid off, and dismissed.

On *Friday* the 13th, at Night, Mess. *Stafford* and *Sheridan* were released, to prepare for their Journey with the Pr. against *Sunday* Morning.

The rest of the Gentlemen were all dismissed on the 19th, at Eight o'Clock at Night; when Sir *James Harrington* and Mr. *Goring* received Orders to quit *Paris* immediately; but gained leave afterwards to stay till the 24th, when, it is supposed, they'll follow the Pr. The others were left at their own Liberty, to do as they pleased.

At present, there only remains at the Pr.'s House proper People to pay off all Bills, and to

pack up such Things as he did not before think necessary to be removed.

The Pr. from *Fountainbleau*, proceeded on his Journey to *Avignon*; where having staid some Weeks, he left it *incog.* taking along with him Col. *Goring*, and three other Domesticks.

I shall now endeavour to give a short Account of what became of some of those who helped to compose the Pr.'s Army.

Lochiel, being wounded in both Legs, was carried off the Field by four of his Men, and put into a Barn. As these Men were taking off his own Cloaths, and putting on others to disguise him, a Party of Dragoons surrounded the Barn; but were called off suddenly, just as they were going into it.

The Dragoons were no sooner gone, than his Men removed him, set him on Horseback, and carried him that Night to *Cluny*'s House in *Badenoch*, where he continued till next Morning; and then went to *Lochaber*. When he left the Barn, he dismissed two of the Men; but kept the other two to hold him on Horseback.

On the *Friday* after the Battle of *Culloden*, the Duke of *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond*, Marquis of *Tullibardine*, Lord *George Murray*, Lord *Ogilvie*, Col. *Stewart* of *Ardsheil*, Col. *John Roy-Stewart*, Lord *Nairne*, several of the *Drummonds*, and Capt. *James Hay*, were at *Ruthven* in *Badenoch*. Lord

George Murray proposed then to get Meal to be brought into that Country, and to collect their Troops again, and to hold out, in order to obtain Terms: But no Person would pay any Regard to what he said or did, being so greatly disgusted at his haughty Behaviour in general, and at his Conduct about the Battle of *Culloden* in particular. He said many Things in his own Justification; and told them, "He would clear up his Character in "Black and White;" which was some time after handed about. Lord *George* declared at this Place, "That he was against fighting that Day, and was "for crossing the *Nairn*; but *Sullivan* opposed it: "And that *Sullivan* used to carry things in Coun- "cils of War against him."

Some of these Gentlemen began to disperse that Night; and the rest next Day. The Duke of *Perth* and Lord *John Drummond* went directly for *Moidart*, where they soon after embarked on board a Ship for *France*, along with Lord *Elcho*, Capt. *James Maxwell*, and several others, who all got safe thither, except the Duke of *Perth*, who died two Days after he went on board. Lord *John* is also since dead, and his Regiment was given to Lord *Lewis Drummond*.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine* was soon after betrayed; and carried to the Tower of *London*, where he died; and was buried in St. *Peter*'s Church. He was not in the Battle of *Culloden*, being then very ill.

Lord *George Murray* was concealed in *Scotland* till *December* after the battle of *Culloden*; and then, after being a little time in *Edinburgh*, went on board a Vessel at *Anstruther*, and got to *France*; and never was in *England* after that Battle, though some have strongly asserted it.

Lord *Ogilvie*, Lord *Nairn*, Col. *Stewart* of *Ardshiel*, Col. *John Roy-Stewart*, and the *Drummonds*, all got to *France*: Since which, Col. *Roy-Stewart* died. Capt. *Hay*, as being a *French* Officer, surrendered to the Lord Justice-Clerk at *Edinburgh*; was thence removed to *Carlisle*, where he was tried, and condemned for High Treason: But, being an Officer in the *French* Service, was soon discharged.

At a Meeting, held on the 15th of *May*, at *Murtleg*, or rather *Murlagan*, in the Isle of *Morar*, near the Head of *Locharkaig*, there were present, Lord *Lovat*, *Lochiel*, Major *Kennedy*, *Glenbucket*, *Lochgary*, Mr. *Alexander Macleod*, Dr. *Cameron*, *John Roy-Stewart*, *Barrisdale*'s Son, Secretary *Murray*, and others, to about thirteen. And it was then proposed and agreed to, That they should assemble their Men at *Glenmallie*, and cross *Locky*, where *Cluny* and *Keppoch*'s Men should join them. Lord *Lovat*'s Opinion was, to raise about 3500 Men to defend the Country, Families, and Cattle, as well as themselves; and the particular Number that each was to provide was agreed upon. Lord *Lovat* was to send 400 Men; and that Lord's Servant had ten Days Pay for these Men given him.

The Meeting being over, *Lochiel* and *Murray* crossed the Lake again: And, about four or five Days after this, *Murray* crossed the Lake again to *Glendesherrie*, on the opposite Side of the Water, to Lord *Lovat*; and was with that Lord an Hour or two.

The general Rendezvous was to be near *Keppoch*'s House. *Lochiel*'s, *Barisdale*'s, and *Clanranald*'s People were to meet at the Lake, about two Miles from *Lochiel*'s House.

About ten Days after this, *Lochiel* accordingly got a body of 3 or 400 Men, *Barisdale* and *Lochgary* went with about 150 Men each; but as soon as *Lochgary* got Pay for his Men, he went away, promising to return in a few Days, and to observe Lord *Loudon*'s Motions. But he performed neither: For that Earl, about two Days after the Men were got together, marched through *Glengary*, and had certainly taken *Lochiel*, but for some of his Scouts. *Barisdale*, before *Loudon* went to *Achnacarie*, *Lochiel*'s House, told *Lochiel* he would go and bring more Men to them; and left his Son with a few.

Early in the Morning, a body of Men appeared marching over a Hill, whom *Lochiel* believed to be *Barisdale*'s Men; but some of his Scouts went and told him, they were *Loudon*'s People; for they had red Crosses on their Bonnets. Upon this *Lochiel* dispersed his Men and crossed the Loch in a Boat; which he had kept to prevent his being surprised: So that he owed his Escape

more to the red Crosses, than to the Care of *Lochgary*, or to the Honesty of *Barisdale*.

Lord *Lovat* and some others took different Routs. Secretary *Murray* and some others staid with *Lochiel*, till they got to *Lochleven*, near *Glencoe*; and, after being there some Time, Sir *David Murray*, Secretary *Murray*, Dr. *Cameron*, and the Rev. Mr. *John Cameron*, went from thence to *Glenlyon*; and continued there twelve or fourteen Days. From that Place they went to *Glenochie*; where Secretary *Murray* was taken very ill, and desired they should return. So Sir *David Murray*, went South, and Capt. *Macnab* went with him to the Braes of *Balquhidder*, and provided him a Horse and Cloaths; and the rest returned to *Lochiel* again.

Sir *David* went as far as *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*; where he was taken Prisoner in trying to get off; and was sent to *York*, where he was tried and condemned; but was afterwards reprived; and was discharged on *August* 7. 1748, upon Condition, that he should quit these Realms for Life.

After staying a little time with *Lochiel*, Secretary *Murray* went Southwards, and was at Mr. *Hunter*'s of *Polmood*, his Brother-in-Law, on the 28th of *June* after the Battle of *Culloden*, being about four Miles from his own House at *Broughton*, in the great Road to England, by *Carlisle*. The Evening of the Night that he was taken, a Boy went from his Brother's to *Broughton*, where a Party of

Soldiers were, and told them, to ground and take him; which in the Night they did, and next Day set forwards with him for *Edinburgh*; where, when he arrived, he was so drunk that he could not speak to the Lord Justice Clerk till after a few Hours Sleep; and then he was committed to the Castle, where he remained till sent up to *London* under a strong Guard, and was immediately close confined till after he had given Evidence against Lord *Lovat*; and then was removed thence into the Custody of a Messenger, and about *Christmas* 1747 was discharged.

When they were going to remove him from *Edinburgh*, his Mother wrote to a certain Countess, to desire her Assistance, to raise a Party in *Yorkshire* to attempt to rescue her dear Son. But the Lady was so provoked at it, that she burnt the Letter immediately in great Wrath.

The rest of the History of *Lochiel*, Dr. *Cameron*, and his Brother the Minister, I have given in the Pr.'s Escape. The other Gentlemen all got safe abroad. *Lochiel* got safe to *France*, and was there made a Colonel of 1000 Men; which he enjoyed to his Death, in *September* 1748; when it was given to Sir *Hector Maclean* aforementioned to have been so long confined in *Newgate*. Dr *Cameron* was wounded at *Culloden* by a Musket-bullet, which entered near the Elbow (he having his arm up) and went along the Arm, and then out at the opposite Shoulder.

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